People and Institutions in the Roman Empire

ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF GARRETT G. FAGAN

Edited by
ANDREA F. GATZKE, LEE L. BRICE & MATTHEW TRUNDLE

MNEMOSYNE SUPPLEMENTS HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

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People and Institutions in the Roman Empire

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Professor Garrett G. Fagan at Pennsylvania State University, 2013

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LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Ceiling stucco of the Stabian Baths, Pompeii. (Photo: Matt Brisher, Creative Commons/CC-BY 2.0)

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Contents

Preface IX
In Memoriam—Garry Fagan XII
List of Figures XVI
Abbreviations XX
Notes on Contributors XXI

PART 1
Introduction

1 Peopling the Institutions of the Roman Empire 3
Andrea F. Gatzke

2 Of Meter Rules, Romans, and Jesuits 13
Garrett G. Fagan

3 The Scholarship of Garrett G. Fagan 21
J.E. Lendon

PART 2
People, Institutions, and History

4 Caesar and the *Bellum Gallicum* 33
David S. Potter

5 Commanders' Responses to Mutinies in the Roman Army 44
Lee L. Brice

6 Der Einschluss der Kinder in kaiserliche Bürgerrechtskonstitutionen nach der „Reform" des Antoninus Pius im Jahr 140: Einblicke in die römische Administration 68
Werner Eck

7 The Trial of Jesus Revisited 83
Werner Riess

8 Quintus Arrius, the Roman Triumph, and Christianity 100
Rene Pfeilschifter

PART 3
People in Roman Society

9 Taking the Plunge: A Twenty-First-Century Look at Roman Bathing Culture 125
Dylan K. Rogers

10 The Linguistic Lure of the Arena in Apuleius' *Golden Ass* 160
Jonathan Edmondson

11 Philippianus: A Late Roman Sicilian Landowner and His Use of the Monogram 183
R.J.A. Wilson

Cumulative Bibliography of Works by Garrett G. Fagan 231
Index 237

Preface

This volume grew out of friendship and loss. We were all friends, colleagues, and students of Garrett George Fagan, known to those closest to him as Garry or simply G. He was the kind of ancient historian that many of us wish we could be. His abundant energy and passion for his field was infectious to colleagues and students alike, and he worked tirelessly to encourage excellence in the field. His death March 11, 2017 at the age of 54 ended far too early the career of a beloved, charismatic, and respected scholar of the Roman world. His presence is sorely missed in meetings, classrooms, and conferences.

Born and raised in Dublin, Ireland, Garrett attended Trinity College for his undergraduate degree, studying Ancient History and Archaeology, and Biblical Studies. He continued at Trinity with his Master's degree under the direction of Brian McGing, writing a thesis on Roman imperial succession under the Julio-Claudians, before moving across the pond to pursue his Doctorate at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario under the supervision of Richard Talbert. He completed his Doctorate in Roman Studies in 1993, with his dissertation, "Three Studies in Roman Public Bathing: Origins, Growth, and Social Aspects," building on contemporary archaeological work on Roman baths to construct an understanding not only of the process of Roman bathing, but also the social function of bathing and the baths.

Garrett spent the first years of his post-PhD life teaching at Davidson College in North Carolina. He once said that Davidson—a small liberal arts college with a focus on teaching—had been his ideal job at the time. He never imagined working at a large research institution. However, after holding a Killam Postdoctoral Fellowship in the Department of Classical, Near Eastern, and Religious Studies at the University of British Columbia, and then moving to The Pennsylvania State University in 1996 as a joint-appointment in the Departments of History and Classics & Ancient Mediterranean Studies (CAMS), he realized that research was as much his passion as teaching. He excelled at both throughout the remainder of his career at Penn State, where in 2011 he achieved the rank of Professor of Ancient History. He quickly became a key figure in both the History and CAMS programs, teaching a wide range of undergraduate and graduate courses and supervising masters and doctoral students. His scholarly work garnered him a series of grants and prizes, most notably the Alexander von Humboldt Fellowship at the University of Cologne in 2003–2004 under the sponsorship of Werner Eck.

Garrett made a name for himself not only because of the quality of his scholarship, but also because of his collegiality and charisma. Several of his

colleagues have noted that he was far from a solitary scholar—he was most energized when exchanging ideas with others, whether they be colleagues, students, or the general public. In his memorialization of Garrett posted to the Society of Classical Studies news in May 2017, Stephen Wheeler described Garrett as "a breath of fresh air not only in the current academic climate, but also thirty years ago at a time when the air had been sucked out of the room by the last generation of traditionalists." This characteristic drew people to him. Mark Munn, Chair of CAMS at the time of Garrett's death, said it was, "no exaggeration to state that Garrett's departure leaves a great gap among us, a presence in the classroom and in the department that was always a strong influence, and a recognized strength of ancient history … at Penn State."

Garrett spent his last full year of teaching in the city he loved, serving as the Andrew W. Mellon Professor-in-Charge at the Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies in Rome from 2015–2016. Despite growing fatigue during his time there, it was only upon his return to Pennsylvania that he discovered he was suffering from advanced pancreatic cancer. In spite of his diagnosis, Garrett continued to work on his scholarship until the very end, determined to leave a few last thoughts before he was gone. And despite the doctors' expectations, he even managed to visit his *patria* in his final months to say farewell to family and friends. Garrett still had much to give to his field, his colleagues, his students, and his family, and his absence is palpable.

Before Garrett passed away, we set the goal of bringing together a number of Garrett's colleagues and friends to honor him with a volume covering topics that he too had explored over the years. We are grateful that we were able to present him with a preliminary overview of the volume before he passed. Bringing a volume like this together is never as straight-forward as some might expect, and while some obstacles can be smited and others accounted for, chance always has a role to play. The unexpected SARS-CoV-2/COVID-19 pandemic provided roadblocks for some of our contributors. Further, our co-editor and one of Garrett's long-time friends, Matthew Trundle, passed away July 12, 2019 after a ten-month battle with Acute Lymphoid Leukemia. We were devastated to lose Matthew, too, but he urged us to get on with the task at hand and bring this volume to fruition.

There are a number of people to thank for their assistance along the way. This effort has been a multi-generational project in the sense that it has included senior scholars who mentored or assisted Garrett, as well as collaborators and colleagues, and of course students of his or of his research. We thank everyone who has contributed to the project. Mark Munn and Stephen Wheeler of the CAMS Department at Penn State were extremely helpful in supplying us with their memories of Garrett and details of his service and comradeship. We

thank Garrett's former advisors, Brian McGing and Richard Talbert, for their support of this project and their own remembrances of Garrett, which we have included following this preface. We also thank all the authors in this volume, who have been generous with their time and thoughts. We much appreciate their patience through this process. The support of the teams at Brill and *Mnemosyne*, especially Mirjam Elbers and Giulia Moriconi, was most helpful in bringing it to a swift close. We are also grateful to the numerous readers who examined individual chapters and our anonymous peer reviewers for all their helpful suggestions; any errors that remain are our own. We are each immensely thankful to our respective spouses and families for their patience and support throughout the project.

And most of all, we are grateful to Garrett's family for their encouragement and trust throughout: George and Emmett, Garrett's two sons, and their mother, Katherine; Mark and Linda, Garrett's siblings; and Julia, his partner until the end.

We dedicate this volume to Garrett, who touched the lives of so many.

Andrea F. Gatzke and Lee L. Brice
2020

In Memoriam—Garry Fagan

Staff and students of the Department of Classics at Trinity College Dublin in the early 1980s will remember Garry Fagan well. He studied Ancient History and Archaeology with Biblical Studies, "majoring" with us in Classics and graduating in 1985. People will remember him because he would be very difficult to forget, being one of the liveliest and most enjoyable people you could meet. Right from the beginning he was a clever and enthusiastic student, always producing excellent work, always wanting to talk, and never lacking confidence, in the classroom or anywhere else. My colleague Roger Wilson, who was a Junior Dean at the time (one of those in charge of student discipline) will recall, I'm sure, a pleasant summer's evening when we were taking a stroll in College Park, only to find Garry happily smoking a joint. His offer to share it with us was perhaps not, tactically, the best move, but it does demonstrate how delightfully unworried Garry was about life. I don't think the smart or chic things of the world ever held much attraction for him: judging from some of his non-academic adventures both in Dublin and in North Carolina that he recounted to me, it was clear that not all his leisure time was spent in entirely respectable venues. He undoubtedly inherited his sense of fun from his parents. Roger will remember another evening when, as Garry's instructors in Ancient History and Archaeology, we were invited out to his parents' house for dinner. Cecil and Maire immediately dispelled any worries about formality, entertaining us with delightful and limitless hospitality.

After his undergraduate degree Garry did an M.Litt. with me, the first research student I had. The M.Litt., although rarely taken now, was a good way of honing skills before deciding whether you wanted the extra commitment of doctoral work. Garry used it to improve his Greek, and wrote an excellent, if conservative, thesis on the succession in the early Roman imperial period. I had thoughts on the subject; and Garry developed further ideas, which he worked on later in his scholarly career. Although academic jobs were hard to come by at the time, he was determined to do a PhD, and it seemed to me that North America was right for him. Wisely, he was more interested in potential teachers rather than universities. I can't remember whether it was good luck or careful planning that had him knocking on Richard Talbert's door at McMaster, but I do remember telling him that he could not find a better mentor and academic guide. I won't repeat all the details, well documented elsewhere, of his already distinguished academic career, but I would want to emphasize what a fine social historian he became: both his main studies, on bathing and on the arena, were works of top class scholarship. And in the matter of outreach,

beyond the university, he had built a formidable reputation. I always believed he would be an outstanding teacher, and his colleagues have confirmed my expectations many times over. As for his lecturing skills, anyone who went to his lecture in University College Dublin in 2016 witnessed a superb scholarly performance, beautifully weighted and illustrated. Indeed I'm embarrassed that I failed to get him to talk at Trinity, although it was my intention to book him on one of his visits back home, when we used to catch up over a Guinness or two (approximately).

I was, like everyone else who knew him, shocked when he sent me an email to say that he had pancreatic cancer, and had little time left. He did want to come home one more time, and astonishingly, given the advanced state of his illness, managed to do so. I went to visit him on February 6 at his brother Mark's house. He was clearly a man whose race was coming to an end, but he was delighted to chat for a couple of hours and talk about old times, old friends, and about the ancient world and scholarship. The spirit and sense of fun were still there, as always, and I was struck by his dignity and complete lack of self-pity—no immediate consolation, I'm afraid, for his children and family, but perhaps something they will in time remember with pride. He went off next day for a blast of sea air in Galway. He was hoping to come back to Ireland again in the summer, and I was looking forward to meeting up again, as we agreed, but he died shortly after returning to the United States.

Brian McGing
Dublin, Ireland
May 2020

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To lose Garrett in his prime is cause for lasting grief that I share with family, friends, and colleagues worldwide. The very nature of our relationship made it unique and professionally close; it became lifelong. G was the first to gain the PhD under my direction, and then to succeed in making ancient history his career at university level. At the outset each of us was venturing into the unknown, learning new roles in an unfamiliar transatlantic environment, ambitiously taking new risks, and always trusting one another. He bravely placed his confidence in me; I strove to advance him by daring to propose a tough dissertation topic, but one with distinct potential (I sensed) to open up a revealing fresh dimension, and to form the basis of an influential first book. By chance, the first article in the first issue of the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* provided a key pointer: an overview of recent research on Roman baths which

drew attention to remarkable neglect of the social, human side of their functioning. The author had no plans, she assured us, to pursue this aspect herself.

So here was G's opportunity. Himself the most social of humans, he seized it with vigor. To be sure, all did not then just proceed smoothly. At first, the vigor could be brash and the drafts unmethodical. Certain committee members bristled. With characteristic responsiveness, G committed himself to attaining a more rigorous standard, and won back their respect. My own move from Hamilton to Chapel Hill could hardly seem helpful, but it did bring G the offer of a year together at UNC. This experience subsequently encouraged him to spend a further year researching in Tübingen, Germany, during which he extended his exploration of Roman bath complexes in Europe. For all that this peripatetic development of the dissertation was disruptive, G benefited from tremendous stimulus everywhere he went. His mobility, enthusiasm and charm enabled him to engage with experts in plenty, many of whom became and remained his friends. Moreover, G was excited by the challenge of tackling his topic from the perspectives of both archaeology and history (tapping epigraphic sources in particular for the latter).

Once G secured a prestigious Killam postdoctoral fellowship in Canada again (the first ever held in UBC's Classics department), the archaeologist and epigrapher James Russell who sponsored him there encouraged his expansion of the dissertation into *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*, published by University of Michigan Press. One index of its immediate impact was assignment of a full page by *TLS*—exceptional prominence for a first book—and the choice of Keith Hopkins as reviewer, doyen of ancient social historians and notoriously hard to please. So, while disappointment was indeed Hopkins' initial reaction, there is cause for pride that he did then recognize the stream of interesting questions raised by the book. What frustrated Hopkins was the elusiveness of fully satisfying answers; but that level of expectation was unrealistic, as he was acutely aware in fact from his own vexed quest to probe ancient religious and social history afresh.

With G launched as visible scholar and author, my involvement in his projects thereafter was reduced. Not to persevere with a book prospectively entitled *Successes, Failures and Mediocrities: Ahenobarbi and Pisones in an Age of Transition* was a blow. But to enlarge his contribution to Roman social history in a quite different direction, again by exploiting interdisciplinary approaches, did hold greater promise. Hence G's enterprising use of social psychology led to his even more successful study *The Lure of the Arena*, published by Cambridge University Press. I remained glad to recommend him in the typical prolonged quest for positions, a quixotic and nerve-wracking struggle which he resolved would never daunt him. Once tenured, he liked to caution students with academic

ambitions by brandishing a binder stuffed with 153 letters rejecting him. Even his initial hiring at PSU for a limited term was a lucky fluke, in that after applying he received no word from the search committee for several months, and in fact was not their choice. But by the time that G in desperation eventually risked calling to inquire, the chosen rival had just reneged on the offer originally accepted, and the committee was now feeling pressured late in the hiring season!

Years on, when the headship of the Classics department in the National University of Ireland, Galway was advertised, I supported G's carefully weighed inclination to return to the land of his *origo* (we discussed this complex dilemma at length). Here, without doubt, his charisma and dynamic leadership would have proven invaluable. But in the event such a *nostos* was not to be. Rather, North America gained increasingly from the continued growth of his potential. I admire G above all as the model and the inspiration that he became to others, especially to the many after him who were motivated to work with me in part because of his achievements. His substantial body of pathbreaking scholarship is innovatory. He was a passionate teacher, lecturer, and debater, with a flair for enlarging and deepening interest in the classical world at every level. A talented organizer too: the energy and creativity that G so selflessly devoted to the ancient field's professional affairs are humbling. May I be forgiven for imagining that I played some small useful part in his training. That aside, the adviser is heartily thankful for everything learned thereafter from the pupil and, like all of us, badly misses his genial self.

Richard Talbert
Chapel Hill, NC
May 2020

Figures

6.1–2 Diplom mit der Sonderformel *praeterea praestitit* für einen aus Pannonien stammenden Auxiliar. (Mit freundlicher Genehmigung von Andreas Pangerl) 71

9.1 Fourth-sixth century baths on Amalias Avenue, Athens, Greece. Found during the excavations for the Athens Metropolitan Railway. (Photo: © George E. Koronaios, Wikipedia Commons/CC-BY-SA 4.0) 131

9.2 Fregellae Baths, schematic plan of Phase II (first half of the second century BCE): *caldarium*, with *alvei* (1); furnace and hypocaust (2); vaulted *apodyterium* (3); *caldarium*, with *alvei* (4); *apodyterium* (5); *atrium*/peristyle (6). Baths are divided into men's quarters (1–3) and women's quarters (4–5). (After Tsiolis 2013, fig. 2) 134

9.3 Kneeling man performing cunnilingus on a seated woman. Scene from the *apodyterium* of the Suburban Baths, Pompeii. (Photo: Wolfgang Rieger, Wikimedia Commons) 140

9.4 Théodore Chassériau, *Tepidarium. The Room Where the Women of Pompeii Went to Dry Themselves and to Rest after Leaving the Baths*. 1853. Oil on canvas, 171 × 258 cm. Paris: Musée d' Orsay. (Photo: Public domain, Wikimedia Commons) 146

11.1 Gerace, stamp on a roof tile (Type 8), monogram, PHILIPPIANI (scale in cms). (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 187

11.2 Gerace, overfired brick with stamps of Type 8, found in a kiln (scale 5 cms). (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 187

11.3 Gerace, brick used in kiln construction, monogram, PHILIPPIANI (scale 10 cms). (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 188

11.4 Gerace, inner side of a curved roof tile, monogram, PHILIPPIANI (scale 5 cms). (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 189

11.5 Gerace, *pila* brick for use in a hypocaust, PHILIPPIANI (scale 5 cms). (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 189

11.6 Gerace, mosaic in the *frigidarium* of the baths, roundel (diameter 35 cm) containing the monogram PHILIPPIANI. (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 190

11.7 Gerace, stamp on a roof tile (Type 2), monogram in two parts, PHILIPP and IANI (scale 5 cms). (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 191

11.8 Gerace, inner side of a curved roof tile, monogram, ANTONINI (?) (left) photograph (scale 5 cms); (right) line drawing. (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson; drawing by Sally Cann) 191

11.9 Gerace, mosaic in the *frigidarium* of the baths, roundel (diameter 35 cm) containing the monogram ASCLEPIADES. (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 192

11.10 Gerace, mosaic in the *frigidarium* of the baths, roundel (diameter 35 cm) containing the monogram CAPITOLINI. (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 193

11.11 Albenga, baptistery, an example of the use of the Chi Rho monogram, unusually here in triplicate (alluding to the Trinitarian unity of Christ with God and the Holy Spirit). They are accompanied on either side by the Greek letters *alpha* and *omega* (also in triplicate), a reference to Christ's pronouncement that he was "the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last" (*Book of Revelation* 22.13). The blue background, the stars and the birds represent the heavens. Vault mosaic, *in situ*, 500 CE ca. (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 195

11.12 Silver didrachm of Philip V of Macedon (221/179 BCE), reverse, club of Heracles within the oak wreath of Zeus, alluding to the alleged descent of the Macedonian kings from Heracles; trident to left. The legend reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ("[issue of] King Philip"); one monogram above, two below. Diameter 2.6 cm (1 in.). Cleveland Museum of Art, gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust (1917.985). (Photo: Cleveland Museum of Art, through the Creative Commons Zero, CCO 1.0 Universal Public Domain license) 196

11.13 Silver tetradrachm of Augustus, provincial coinage, mint of Antioch, reverse, representation of the Tyche of Antioch facing right, wearing turreted crown and holding a palm branch. The river god Orontes is below. The legend reads ΕΤΟΥΣ ΖΚ (the year 5/ 4 BCE) ΝΙΚΗΣ ("Victory", referring to the Tyche ["Good Fortune"] of Antioch) and the monograms read (possibly) ΥΠΑ ΙΒ (above) and ΑΝΤ or, better, ΤΑΧ (below). Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, David M. Robinson Fund, 1997.150. (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson, with the kind permission of Susanne Ebbinghaus and Britt Bowen, Harvard Art Museums) 197

11.14 The countermark on copper-alloy coins of Nero of 68 CE with the name of "Vespasianus" in monogram form, before he had issued coinage under his own name. (After Garipzanov (2018) 110, fig. 4.2a) 198

11.15 Glass *balsamarium*, stamp on the base reading VEC(tigal) MONOP(oliu)M P(atrimoni) IMP(eratoris) CAES(aris) M(arci) A(ureli) [Ant]ONINI, indicating that there was a monopoly tax on the value of contents of the bottle (balsam) which was under the exclusive control (*in patrimonio*) of the emperor, either Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, or Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus (Caracalla), i.e. either 161–180 or 211–217. A monogram of the family name AVRELII (in the possessive genitive) is at the center, within a wreath. (After Frova (1971) 41, fig. 7) 198

11.16 Red jasper gemstone with monogram of uncertain reading and a portrait bust, probably mid-second century; width 14.5 mm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1892.1527. (After Spier (2007) pl. 141, fig. 11.28) 199

11.17 Octagonal gemstone of red jasper, with central monogram helpfully explained in the legend around the edge: ONOMACTOY. Probably from an Asia Minor workshop in the third century CE; height 12 mm (private collection). (Photo: by Jeffrey Spier, with his kind permission) 199
11.18 Rome, Catacomb of St Callixtus, lid of a sarcophagus with a monogram AVRELIO TYRRENO (?) on the panel designed to take a conventional inscription, early third century CE; 19 cm high. Inv. CAL 580a. (After Bisconti and Gentili (2007) 118, no. 9) 201
11.19 Rome, Catacomb of St Priscilla, fragment of a sarcophagus with two monograms, RUSTICIVS and RVFILLA; third century (?). (After Fiocchi Nicolai et al. (2002) 159, fig. 163) 202
11.20 Rome, San Sebastiano, threshold slab bearing a monogram recording the Emperor Constantine or one of his sons; presumably first half of the fourth century. *In situ*. (After La Regina (2008) 303, fig. 36) 202
11.21 Contorniate, obverse, depicting the bust of the Emperor Trajan (the legend reads *divo Traiano Augusto*) with an incuse monogram alongside, probably reading P(*alma*) ET L(*aurus*) ("the palm and the laurel"); mid-fourth to early fifth century CE (Münzsammlung des Instituts für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Tübingen). Diameter 40 mm (scale 20 mm). (Photo courtesy of Prof. Stefan Krmnicek, University of Tübingen) 204
11.22 The title page of the *Calendar of 354*, with the monogram signature of Furius Dionysius Filocalus at center top (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale). (After Stern (1953) pl. 1) 205
11.23 Rome, Esquiline treasure, drawing of the design at the center of a rectangular plate (one of four): within a laurel wreath, two monograms, probably reading PROIECTA TURCI ("Proiecta wife of Turcius") or PROIECTAE TURCI ("[property of] Proiecta [and] Turcius"); late fourth century CE (London, British Museum). (After Dalton (1901) 71, no. 312) 207
11.24 Provenance unknown (Rome?), cornelian gemstone reading in retrograde TERENTI (?), accompanied by images of (right to left) bird, wreath and fish, probably late fourth century; width 15 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2167). (After Spier (2007) pl. 37, cat. no. 307) 207
11.25 Cuevas de Soria, Roman villa, detail of a mosaic from a room in the middle of the east wing; monogram in the central panel (Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional). (Photo courtesy of Professor José-Antonio Abásolo, University of Valladolid) 209
11.26 Cuevas de Soria, Roman villa, detail of a mosaic panel in a room in the north wing; *in situ*. (Photo courtesy of SoriamuséuM, Cuevas de Soria) 209
11.27 Cuevas de Soria, Roman villa, detail of a mosaic panel in a room in the west wing; *in situ*. (Photo courtesy of SoriamuséuM, Cuevas de Soria) 210

11.28 Grado, baptistery next to the Duomo, marble altar-table support, relief decoration of a cross flanked by peacocks and doves (the latter with olive branches in their beaks), with a monogram at the center referring to Probinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, 569–570; *in situ*. (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 212

11.29 Venice, Piazza San Marco, the western pier of two which were taken in the early thirteenth century from the church of St Polyeuktos in Constantinople (modern Istanbul); detail of monogram. Originally read as ΤΑΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ, "(work of) the new Peter", referring to the Eastern Emperor Justin (518–527), during whose reign the church was built (524/6 ca.), it is now read as ἍΓΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ, "(belonging to) Saint Polyeuktos". (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 213

11.30 Cyprus, silver dish with niello inlay, made between 610 and 613 CE during the reign of the Eastern Emperor Heraclius (610–641 CE), as indicated by stamps on the reverse; diameter 26 cm. The cruciform monogram reads in Greek ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ Α(?) "(belonging to) Theodore A …" (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 57.652). (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 213

11.31 Grado, Duomo, chapel of Bishop Marcian, mosaic floor with central monogram referring to HELIAS EPISCOPVS, "Bishop Elijah", the Patriarch of Aquileia (571–586) in succession to Probinus (see fig. 11.28), and who consecrated the Duomo in 579 CE; *in situ*. (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 214

11.32 Provenance unknown (Rome?), a leaf from a diptych depicting the apotheosis of a Symmachus, possibly second half of the fifth century, with the family monogram at the top reading SYMMACHORVM ("of the Symmachi"); height 27.7 cms (London, British Museum). (Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum (1857, 1013.1)) 216

11.33 Gerace, the mosaic in the *frigidarium* of the baths; north is at the bottom (scale 5 m). (Photo: Dr Lorenzo Zurla (Ragusa)) 217

11.34 Gerace, mosaic in the *frigidarium* of the baths, inscribed frieze on north side, detail, palm branch (scale 5 cms). (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 219

11.35 Gerace, stamp on a roof tile (Type 4), horse facing left, palm branch and victory crown before it, PHILIPPIANI around (scale 5 cms). (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 221

11.36 Gerace, stamp on a roof tile (Type 5), horse facing left, victory crown above, legend in two parts [Phil]IP and PIANI (scale in cms). (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson) 221

Abbreviations

Abbreviations of journals and works employed in this book are those from *L'Année Philologique Online* and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*^{4}, in addition to the following:

AE	*L'Année Épigraphique*
EAOR	Sabbatini Tumolesi, P. and Gregori, G.L. (eds) (1988–) *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano*. Rome.
IRT	Reynolds, J.M. and Ward-Perkins, J.B. (eds) (1952) *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*. Rome.
JMH	*Journal of Military History*
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PART 1

Introduction

CHAPTER 1

Peopling the Institutions of the Roman Empire

Andrea F. Gatzke

Over his abbreviated career, Garrett George Fagan (1963–2017) produced an impressive body of academic and public scholarship notable not only for its quality, but also for its range and impact (see Appendix for a complete list of Fagan's publications). During his review for promotion to Professor, his external reviewers called him "top league" and "already an historian of the first importance, and in the process of establishing himself as one of the leading names in his generation." Although Fagan's research covered a wide variety of topics, the core theme of his research revolved around exploring the social realities of embedded institutions of the Roman Empire.

The study of Roman institutions has a long and deep historiography, and in many ways these studies have shaped the modern view of imperial Rome as a highly organized, efficient, and mostly stable period of antiquity. Historians of Rome's institutions, both ancient and modern, have tended to approach them as if they were machine-like entities, powered by rules and procedures that were wholly separate from the individuals who participated in them.[1] Such histories are essential for our understanding of the operations and maintenance of Rome's empire, though their reliance on highly descriptive and impersonal analyses has limited their appeal to audiences outside of strictly academic circles.

Fagan's contributions to our understanding of core aspects of Roman social and political life were of a different character, illuminating topics such as the baths, the arena, and the military by focusing on the personal within the institutional. Fagan was fundamentally interested in people and their lived experiences within the core institutions of ancient Rome.[2] He was drawn to places and occasions where Romans and non-Romans gathered, and sought to reconstruct the often-underappreciated experiences of individuals in those places. Ultimately, he showed that ancient institutions reflected the strengths and weaknesses of the people who forged, maintained, and participated in them. It

1 For examples of ancient historiography, see Polyb. 6; Veg. *Mil.* Examples of modern historiography include Kromayer, Veith, and Köster (1928).

2 Other examples of this approach can be found in e.g., MacMullen (1980, 1984); Talbert (1987); Lendon (1997, 2005); Allison (2013); Riess and Fagan (2016); Brice (2020).

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was the people who brought the institutions to life, and the people who were affected by them. This bottom-up approach to Roman social practices, such as the baths, the games, the circus, and the military, enabled Fagan to produce a vivid and relatable image of these ancient institutions that have otherwise felt so distant and foreign.

This human interest is best illustrated in Fagan's two largest studies on Roman bathing and the Roman games. In both cases, he built upon an already extensive body of work. His first monograph, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (1999), based on his doctoral thesis at McMaster University, was the first to investigate not the "what" and "how" of Roman bathing—there were already extensive studies on the architecture and technological innovations of the baths—but rather the "why" of bathing. He strove to reveal the personal motivations and experiences of those in the baths, from the elite senators to their clients, the poor, and even the slaves who kept the facilities running. Fagan provided readers with a genuinely social history of a central cultural institution.

In a similar vein, his second monograph, *The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games* (2011), delved into the experiences of both the audience members and the gladiators in the Roman arena. This study relied heavily on earlier scholarship, exploring the architecture of the space, the mechanics of the fights, and the demography of the audience, but again Fagan's biggest contribution was his explanation of the reasons for the arena's popularity and his contextualization of the arena's violent events through a series of comparative studies on the use of violence as entertainment in other historical periods. In this way he again provided a sense of the people, both those fighting and those attending the competitions, and their motivations. One of Fagan's anonymous reviewers for promotion called this book, "unquestionably the best book on this repulsive but unavoidable subject," and it is no wonder, for the "society within the games" emerges in Fagan's work in a way not previously seen.

Fagan's dedication to understanding the social history of the Roman Empire and specifically the experiences of people within the imperial institutions was an essential component of his contributions to the field, but so also were his historical and analytical methods. One of his greatest strengths was his interdisciplinarity. Classics and ancient history are by nature interdisciplinary, but Fagan went beyond the typical breadth of approaches, actively striving to incorporate evidence and approaches from many fields within classical studies. He made extensive use of not only literary and architectural sources, but also epigraphic and smaller archaeological remains. His emphasis on epigraphic and physical evidence allowed him to give a voice to the underappreciated and

underrepresented segments of Roman society that populated central Roman social spaces and practices.

Yet Fagan was also curious about topics further afield from the traditional disciplines of classical studies and ancient history. *Archaeological Fantasies: How Pseudoarchaeology Misrepresents the Past and Misleads the Public* (2006) is perhaps the best and most underrated illustration of Fagan's broad interests and drive to connect the ancient world to the deeper human experience. This volume brought together prominent historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, physicists, philosophers, mathematicians, and linguists to explore from all angles the rising popularity of pseudoarchaeology, which Fagan called "an insidious cultural phenomenon."[3] Fagan and his contributors assert that pseudoarchaeology belongs not only to the fringe conspiracy theorists looking to sunken cities and aliens to explain the ancient past, but also to nationalistic and religious institutions aiming to rewrite the past to suit their own agendas. The volume is a testament to the power of interdisciplinary collaboration.

Fagan's last monograph, *The Lure of the Arena*, likewise showed the potential of examining the past through an interdisciplinary and comparative lens. Drawing particularly on cognitive and social psychology, yet presenting his analysis in accessible and jargon-free prose, Fagan showed that modern psychological studies on how social interactions and cognitive processes work on a broader human scale can aid us in our analysis of how they worked in antiquity. The use of social psychology has become increasingly common in our field in the last decade, but such a comparative psychological approach was relatively new to studies of Roman society and institutions when Fagan was writing this book. Ultimately, he presented a grounded and relatable picture of cruelty and violence in antiquity and left the reader reflecting on the many ways that the "cruel" Romans were, in fact, not so different from us.

In the later years of his career, Fagan further expanded on his interest in violence and warfare in the broader ancient period. Through his edited volumes *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare* with Matthew Trundle (2010), *The Topography of Violence in the Greco-Roman World* with Werner Reiss (2016), and the posthumously published *Cambridge World History of Violence, Volume 1: Prehistory and the Ancient World* (2020), Fagan contributed significantly to scholarly knowledge on the role of warfare and violence in ancient societies. As with his other work, Fagan was not interested in looking at the military institutions in and of themselves, but rather at how these institutions were influenced by the societies in which they were formed, and at the new social entities that formed out of them.[4]

3 Fagan (2006) 362.
4 Fagan and Trundle (2010) 16.

Just as Fagan brought Roman society to life through his research, his dynamic personality brought a vivaciousness to the community of ancient historians. His impact on his colleagues was unquestionable, whether through his editorial and committee work (most notably for the Archaeological Institute of America), his teaching, or his mentoring. Through his membership on three AIA/SCS Joint-Panels, Fagan introduced his own interdisciplinary work into broader academic conversations; through his work on the AIA Program Committee, he advocated for the inclusion of epigraphic and numismatic scholarship alongside the organization's more traditional focus on architecture, art, and excavation. His presence at conferences was "talismanic,"[5] for as one who firmly believed in balancing work with fun, as he was regularly at the center of friendly debates and raucous laughter.

Fagan's passion for people made him not only an upstanding colleague, but also an inspirational educator. His pupils ranged from undergraduate and graduate students in the university setting to lifetime-learners in the general public. He was known for his gift of storytelling. Students gravitated toward his classes despite their reputation of being highly challenging. Always energetic and engaging, Fagan's passion for the material he presented was nothing other than infectious. He brought the past to life in ways that few others can, and his Irish turns of phrase, his evocative descriptions of food or violence, and his seemingly boundless energy kept students engaged and motivated. Just as in his scholarship, his teaching endeavored to bring the institutions of the ancient world to life by focusing on the details, vividly describing the collection of *gloios* in the Roman baths for concocting medicinal salves, or the physical effects of the heat blasts from Mt. Vesuvius on the residents of Herculaneum and Pompeii.

A true public scholar, Fagan strove to share his knowledge with audiences outside of the traditional university setting. He has been credited with having, "the greatest public profile of any Roman historian in the U.S. … he is *the* voice of ancient history to tens of thousands of Americans."[6] Fagan's dive into public scholarship was in large part a response to the preponderance of what he called "pyramidiots" and other anti-intellectual personalities in international media, having no patience for their willful ignorance and refusal to accept the data from historians, archaeologists, and other scholars. Much like his work in *Archaeological Fantasies* and *The Lure of the Arena*, Fagan used his public presence, whether on cruise ships, public television and radio shows, or

5 Trundle (2017) 5.
6 See Lendon this volume.

in audio/DVD courses, to defend not only what we know about the past, but also to explain clearly how we know it. Ultimately, he engaged his pupils and readers in the wonders and mysteries of antiquity and showed the many ways in which we can actually see ourselves in the ancients.

Garrett Fagan's productive career was cut short by pancreatic cancer, but the task of peopling the institutions of the Roman world continues. The papers assembled in this volume aim to honor Fagan's contributions and his memory by reflecting on his own contributions to the field and offering further discussions on how individuals navigated, interacted with, and shaped Roman military, political, and social institutions. The variety of topics—Roman baths, games, and festivals; provincial judicial proceedings and elite life; the experiences of Roman soldiers—and methodologies—literary; archaeological; epigraphic—reflect Fagan's own devotion to detail and versatility. Together, these papers help enrich our impressions of Rome and her institutions by further peopling the spaces, processes, and structures that created their frameworks.

1 The Chapters

Part One of this volume provides further reflections on Fagan's own contributions to the field of ancient history. The first of the following two chapters is a personal reflection written by Fagan himself, originally intended for an edited volume that never came to fruition, and then re-edited for the current volume in the months before his death. The essay is a warm and poignant recollection of Fagan's early education and how he came to fall in love with the Romans in the mid-1970s while living in a flat above his father's dental office in an unsavory neighborhood of Dublin. Fagan describes his early trepidation about learning Latin at his Jesuit secondary school and relates how one inspiring, dedicated teacher changed all that. Though his essay does not reflect directly on how his own story influenced the scholar he became, it reveals first-hand Fagan's interests in the human component of Roman history.

Closing this first part, J.E. Lendon provides a survey and analysis of Fagan's contributions to the academic field. Lendon focuses largely on Fagan's accessibility as a scholar. He describes him as a "lumper" rather than a "splitter," as he was ever willing to draw on historical cultural comparison to illuminate not only ancient societies, but also broader human experiences. Lendon also highlights Fagan's ability to reveal the familiar in what might at first glance seem foreign, in contrast to many other contemporary historians who strive to "defamiliarize" elements of antiquity that might at first seem familiar.

Through these approaches, Lendon argues, Fagan was able to create research that could reach any reader, not just the academic elite, and engage their interest in another time and place. Yet this accessibly did not come at a cost of precision or seriousness, as Fagan deeply engaged with the scholarship of the topics on which he wrote.

Part Two of the volume (Chapters 4–8) offers five papers examining the people interacting with core Roman institutions including the military and legal system. As a starting point David Potter offers a deep reading of Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* to explore when and why the commentaries were written in the final form. Readers tend to focus on Caesar's works for the treatment of the army, but Potter's chapter looks at and beyond the army, which became so central to the imperial autocracy. Focusing on Caesar's ethnographies, allusions to Lucretius, and methods of cross-referencing throughout the work, Potter concludes that Caesar composed his work in two distinct periods. Despite the shifts in tone between the two sets of books (1–5 and 6–7) and the inconsistencies between them, he asserts that Caesar's essential goals are consistent across all of the books: to show the effectiveness of his army and his management of the Gallic province. Through this, Potter argues, the *Commentarii* provided a "thinly veiled comment" on Roman society and presented Caesar and his army as a new way forward for an idealized Roman society. Potter's analysis sets the stage for seeing how, in its subtle criticism of Rome and Romans, Caesar's work was also a precursor for ethnographies and ethnographic comparisons by later Roman authors including Tacitus and Pliny the Elder.

Lee Brice's chapter revises the author's earlier work on responses to military indiscipline in the late Republican and early imperial legions. Digging into mutinies at Placentia in 49 BCE, Brundisium in 44 BCE, and on the Lower Rhine in 14 CE, Brice explores an aspect of the lived experience of the people at the heart of the army—the frustration of soldiers and commanders' responses. Drawing on Fagan's work, he demonstrates two key underlying points: first, that we should trust ancient mutiny narratives more than critics have allowed and, second, that if we accept that these incidents occurred in phases it permits better explanation of why frustration sometimes erupted as mutiny and how commanders resolved it. The final part of his analysis focuses on why some resolutions of mutinies lasted and others did not. The success or failure of the commander to restore long-term order depended not on institutional structures or formal procedures, but rather on each commander's own previous experiences and on his ability to disrupt the existing social bonds of the mutinous troops through quick action, punishment, and reassignment of the unit to new settings.

In Chapter 6, Werner Eck continues on the theme of soldiers' experiences within the Roman military in his essay on the rights of soldiers' children. He examines the impact that Antoninus Pius' legal reforms of 140 CE had on the rights of the children of Roman soldiers. Since soldiers were forbidden from marrying, all children were produced from informal unions, often with local women. However, from 140 CE until the end of the second century, epigraphic evidence reveals that children began appearing on their fathers' military diplomas, gaining citizenship at the same time as their fathers. Eck examines diplomas and the army in the process of examining the reform and its causes.

Werner Riess offers a meticulous examination of the legal and cultural circumstances surrounding Jesus' conviction as presented in the gospels. In the process of wading through the historiography he argues that the Sanhedrin did have the right to impose the death penalty in cases of "religious" crimes, but that they preferred to commute the conviction to the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, for various reasons. Then, drawing on both historical realities and sociological perspectives in the style of Fagan, he argues that Jesus was a religious, political, and social outsider, and it was this marginalization, not the specific breaking of laws, that led to his death. Finally, Riess draws on epigraphic evidence as well as Roman legal practice to show that Pontius Pilate was a more responsible and meticulous governor than he is often given credit for, and that his uncertainty on legal matters is reflective of his non-senatorial background rather than his incompetence. Reiss lends a human perspective to the world's most famous trial in his assertion that by ordering the execution of Jesus, Pilate was able to gain the favor of local aristocrats, an essential element of maintaining law and order in the province.

In Chapter 8, the triumphal scene from the 1959 film *Ben-Hur* provides the lens through which Rene Pfeilschifter examines the evolution of the triumph and its meaning from the late Republican into the Byzantine periods. With a particular focus on the triumph of Belisarius over the Vandals in 534, Pfeilschifter identifies the consistent components of this central Roman institution throughout its history: a returning home to the capital, a moving through the city, the involvement of the public, and the celebration of victory. He contrasts these events with similar festivities that involved stationary celebrations, or celebrations that were divorced from victories, and highlights that though these celebrations were also important, they were not triumphs. Other elements, such as a sacrifice to the gods on the Capitol, were wholly optional, and thus easily replaced with offerings to the emperor himself in Christian late antiquity.

Part Three of this volume (chapters 9–11) shifts to essays examining Roman social institutions and the people who inhabited them. First, Dylan Rogers

provides a historiographical discussion which shows the impact of Fagan's 1999 monograph on studies of the Roman baths and surveys how the topic has developed in the intervening two decades, both in terms of historiography and in terms of evidence—archaeological, epigraphic, and literary. Within that context, Rogers argues that though water culture was indeed an identifiable element of Roman life throughout the empire, it was just as much tied to urbanism. Rogers sees bathing not as a signifier of *Romanitas* itself, but rather as one possible expression of a much broader trait of Roman culture, that is, water culture, which relied on conceptions of power, spectacle, aesthetics, and shared experiences. Romans, in their so-called cultures of consumption and pleasure, employed water for its sensorial and transformative properties to their delight and novelty, especially through bathing complexes.

The analysis of Roman society continues with Jonathan Edmondson's treatment of Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*. In a nod to the title and subject of Fagan's 2011 monograph, Edmondson's "The Linguistic Lure of the Arena" explores the role of the language of the arena in Apuleius' famed novel. He first examines direct references to the arena as a metaphor for other aspects of Roman life, including banditry and sexual pleasure. He then uncovers more extended but less obvious uses of arena-related language to describe whole episodes in the narrative, such as the bandits' debate on how to punish their young captive, Charite, or the torture of the ass with a hot poker. By the end, Edmondson asserts that entire narrative episodes were influenced by actual arena events that Apuleius and his contemporary readers had witnessed, effectively making the reader of the narrative simultaneously a spectator of the games. This, he argues, reveals that it was not only the masses who were entertained by the thrill of arena events, but also the literary provincial elite for whom Apuleius was writing.

In the final chapter, Roger Wilson brings together many of the threads touched upon in the previous chapters and in Fagan's own work. Through a meticulous examination of a series of monograms that appear on roof tiles, bricks, and mosaics excavated at a late Roman rural estate in contrada Gerace, Sicily, Wilson works to illuminate the life and career of the owner of the estate, a certain Philippianus, who is otherwise unattested in the historical and archaeological records. He shows that although monograms, and especially the so-called "box" monograms seen here, had varying levels of popularity throughout antiquity, they were quite rare by the fourth and fifth centuries, when Philippianus' estate seems to have thrived. Only senatorial elite in Rome and in its immediate environs still used monograms widely. Wilson explores the possible explanations for how and why a landowner of moderate wealth in

rural Sicily would have picked up on this elite Roman practice, and ultimately ties Philippianus to the horse trade and horse racing, an occupation that would have brought him to Rome and into the presence of the very elites who had popularized the monogram.

The volume ends with a comprehensive bibliography of Fagan's publications in chronological order, including books, articles, book reviews, and selected public scholarship. Wandering through this body of work, one realizes that Fagan's examinations of baths and the arena did not end with his monographs. He continued to work on those topics throughout his career, updating where needed and filling in areas that needed attention. The other aspect of his work that stands out in the bibliography is the variety of topics on which Fagan published and presented to the public.

The chapters assembled here reflect the diversity of topics and methodologies in Fagan's own research. From the social spaces of the baths and the games, to the imperial realm of the military and government, each paper endeavors to lend a new perspective on the institutions that help define Rome's empire and on the individuals who populated them.[7]

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7 I am honored to have studied under Garrett, who supervised both my Master's and Doctoral work at Penn State. Working with him was always an adventure—sometimes terrifying, but mostly fun and filled with laughter. He challenged me to become a better historian and encouraged me to engage with wider varieties of source materials, especially epigraphic texts. He taught me how to look at fields outside of Classics to help me understand the ancient world better. I learned much about teaching from him as well, especially when teaching in Rome, as I was fortunate enough to assist him twice on the study abroad there. I will never be able to travel to the eternal city without thinking of him.

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CHAPTER 2

Of Meter Rules, Romans, and Jesuits

Garrett G. Fagan

You enter Belvedere College S.J., Dublin through an imposing arch. When I passed through that arch for the first time at the age of 12 in autumn 1975, my heart was pounding in my chest since the ambience of the school was all *Tom Brown's Schooldays*: stone and brick façades outside, inside creaky planks and wooden desks. This is hardly surprising, as the college was founded in 1832, the very decade that forms the backdrop for Thomas Hughes' account of Tom Brown's travails at Rugby. So I half expected to be greeted by Flashman and assigned to "fag" for some older boy, or to be subjected to a brutal initiation ritual to prove my worth as a New Boy. But there was a deeper and more immediate reason for my sense of dread: my experience with language education up to that point.

Before entering Belvedere, I had been educated in Montesorri and national schools, receiving a perfectly solid foundation in most subjects except the tortured syntactical and morphological intricacies of Gaelic, the official tongue of the Irish Republic (and thus more commonly called, simply, "Irish"). In Montesorri you learned what you felt like learning, and I had been dumped directly from that carefree environment into the more structured second year of a national junior school. This meant that I was a year behind in my understanding of Irish. So it was to remain, and to this day, sad to say, despite a total of twelve years of learning it at school, I'd be hard pressed to put a single Irish phrase together. Irish is an ancient language, inflected like Latin or Greek, only more brutally so. I just never got the hang of it. It did not help matters that my first two teachers at junior school preferred to educate through the medium of violence. When we got something wrong, the first teacher would hoist us by our wrists (we were 7–8 years old) and thrash our behinds with an unseemly enthusiasm.

The second teacher, whom I had the misfortune to endure as an instructor for one and a half years (aged about 9–10), was more sadistic. He would question us on Irish obscurities individually. If you were right, you stayed seated. If not, you were lined up against the wall. And there you had to wait until the other execution victims joined you at the wall one-by-one, all the while knowing what was coming next. And that was extreme unpleasantness. This man—this small, pinch-faced, nationalist fanatic, with red cheeks and horn-

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rimmed glasses—would proceed to beat our hands with the narrow edge of a meter rule, three strokes per hand (termed "six of the best"). If he was feeling particularly vindictive, he'd use a blackboard compass, a fearsome contraption of wooden arms and metal. This went on until he made one boy's hands bleed. That boy's mother was in the Headmaster's office immediately, and our maniacal teacher was reined in. For a while, at least.

Such, then, was my boyhood experience of learning languages (Irish was the only language we learned at that tender age), and this set the basis for my dread on entering Belvedere for six years of senior school. For a compulsory topic to be taken by all entering boys was Latin. All I knew about Latin was that it was (a) ancient, (b) difficult, and (c) inflected. I also knew that the Jesuits had a reputation as stern disciplinarians and that while I might be spared the meter rule and blackboard compass, the leather strap was always on reserve. I was terrified.

I was assigned to the class 1G2, meaning "First Year Grammar Student, Second Level." The classes were ranked by performance. I was in the third level (of four), having been admitted as a probationary student following special pleading by my parents with the Headmaster, Fr. Noel Barber, S.J. The reason was—you guessed it—Irish. I could not pass the necessary exam in Irish to get in the regular way, so I was admitted on probation, and my continuance was contingent on performance. Everything hung on that first term, and staring me down was the prospect of Latin. More pressure.

Because many of the boys were, like me, entering a new school, everyone was in freshly pressed uniforms and slightly unsure of their surroundings, and a miasma of trepidation hung over the atmosphere. Teachers would either alleviate or heighten the tension, depending on their temperament and demeanor. When Fr. Michael Sheil, S.J. strode into that first Latin class, we all sat bolt upright. He had an authoritative air about him. He was, I suppose, in his early thirties, which seemed veritably ancient to us 12-year-olds. He was tall and lean and balding, so that his forehead stretched above his face like a cliff face and made him look highly intelligent (as indeed, it turned out, he was). He had a piercing gaze. I can't recall now exactly what he said to us on that first day, but I do remember that it made us laugh. This is because Fr. Sheil possessed a sparkling sense of humor, and that piercing gaze twinkled with the flashes of a droll and sarcastic wit. The class time flashed by. I looked forward to the next. Latin was going to be fun!

We learned Latin from the Cambridge series, which placed its emphasis on learning through reading rather than rigid drilling of forms and syntactical rules: *Caecilius est pater, Metella est mater, Grumio est coquus*. The story was set in the household of L. Caecilius Iucundus, an actual Roman banker who

had lived in Pompeii but whose life (and death) was fictionalized in the first unit of the Cambridge course. As we progressed through the readings I found myself more and more fascinated by the lost world the readings were revealing to me. It was all so long ago! I had never learned anything about the Romans, except for seeing the movie *Spartacus* and hearing over and over that they had done horrible things to Jesus. But here I was seeing an astonishingly sophisticated physical and social environment, a place I determined to learn more about. And all the while, Fr. Sheil led us through Latin with wit and aplomb. I cannot say for sure whether during that first term he noted the mounting interest in that one lad on probation in 1G2—but I'd like to think so.

When my first term report card arrived shortly before Christmas 1975, I had secured mostly A's (including in Latin). A letter from Fr. Barber confirmed that I was no longer on probation and was now officially a Belvedere boy. And then circumstances intervened to nurture my nascent interest in Rome further. My parents had decided to move from the home I had grown up in to a new, smaller house in that part of Dublin called Clontarf, on the north shore of the bay. The new house would not be ready until June or July of 1976, but the old house was already sold and the new occupants scheduled to arrive early in the year. Luckily, my father, who was a dentist, owned the building that housed his surgery and usually rented the upper rooms out as "flats" to various individuals. Foreseeing this shortfall in our accommodations, he had not renewed the leases on two of the flats over the surgery, and we—my parents, my brother, and I—were going to store our house's contents in the surgery's garage and occupy the two rooms above until the new house was ready.

All this is pertinent because, while living over the surgery for those six months or so, the young G. Fagan found himself tremendously bored on a frequent basis. Confined to these two rooms, there was not very much to do. I had normally spent most of my time outside, playing with friends. But the surgery was in a more forbiddingly urban part of town, far away from my friends, and loafing about outside was deemed a bad idea: my mother worried about the dense traffic, or local toughs sticking the boot in on a young, delicate me. So I was left alone in my room often (and I shared it with Mark, my brother). My response was to buy and read books like *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*. For my thirteenth birthday in January 1976, Mark had bought me Peter Connolly's fabulously illustrated and informative *The Roman Army* (it's still on my shelves). So I followed that lead too and read about the legions. When I saw a copy of *The Armour of Imperial Rome* by H. Russell Robinson in an academic bookstore in Dublin, I saved up and bought it. It proved a disappointment, as it was a professional, scholarly work and the text was impenetrably technical for a lad my age, but I thought the pictures, especially the reconstructions of the helmets and

segmented legionary armor, were way cool. So I kept it (and I still have it). Inspired by it, I started drawing Romans, especially soldiers. After weeks of practice I had attained a certain level of mediocrity. (There was no further improvement.) I also began reading about Roman history, the emperors, gladiators, and slavery. And my Latin was coming along nicely under Fr. Sheil's tutelage.

Then, in a flash of inspiration, I decided to write my own book about the Romans. Why not? I fancied myself as something of an expert now, and had way too much time on my hands. So I took a school copybook, had my mum cover it with brown paper, and carefully wrote the title in block capitals (trying to make them look Roman and epigraphic, of course): it was called *A Concise History of the Romans, Volume 1*. The contents covered the history of Rome from foundation to collapse, as well as the grammar of Latin, the Roman army, and "sketches of Roman things," all in 52 action-packed, hand-written pages. The inside cover informed the reader that this was the first of three planned volumes, the others being on the Roman Army and Roman Britain. The publishing house logo, on the top right of the front cover, was GF Publishers. They haven't sold much stock.

I then took the finished product and showed it to my English teacher. He was about to assign our class some sort of super, multi-week project, and since I had completed one, I thought I could substitute my Roman book for that project. He didn't accept the book as the English project, though, since it didn't deal so much with English as with the Romans, but he did ask if he could borrow it for a while. With my time above the surgery free again, I decided to proceed with Volume II, *The Roman Army* ("illustrated in colour," boasted the cover) and got my mother to sheath another 52-page copybook in brown paper. The content and even some of the illustrations of this treatise bore a curious resemblance to those in Peter Connolly's book of the same name—but this was just an astonishing coincidence, of course. However, unlike Mr. Connolly's work of the same name, my tome had the added attraction of a fold-out "Battle Scene (of the Empire)", as well as a series of probing questions at the back to test your knowledge after you'd read it (e.g., "Draw *plutei, vineae, catapulta*, and a siege tower"). Once completed, I showed it to Fr. Sheil, who took it from me to peruse.

All this, of course, is completely ridiculous looking back on it now. Here was me, a thirteen-year-old new boy who'd been studying Roman matters for all of five months, giving Rome-related copybooks *I* had written to my Latin teacher, a man who'd studied the Romans for years at the tertiary level. The reason I did so, of course, was to impress Fr. Sheil, whom I had started to hero-worship. I had taken to going into school an hour early, to pace the central quad in the hope of running into him, so I could pepper him with questions about the Romans. The

poor man must have dreaded the sight of me out there in the quad, prowling about like a hungry lion loose in the arena famished for some Christian flesh. Still, on one or two occasions he would take the time to walk with me around the courtyard and field my queries. I recall those conversations even now, and it says much about Fr. Sheil as an educator that he would take time out of his busy day to answer what were undoubtedly crushingly banal and obvious questions from a boy in his first-year Latin class.

In that class I sat beside John Glennan. He was slight and blonde, a quiet and highly intelligent boy, and he was simply excellent at Latin (along with pretty much everything else). He was always just that little bit better than I was. If I scored a 94% on a test, John would get a 98 or 100. It was annoying. I came to resent John Glennan, though he was far too nice to warrant outright hatred. Then, one day in the spring during class, we had an unexpected visit from the Headmaster. Fr. Barber was a tiny man, but he exuded such an air of authority that the most tumultuous classroom was instantly stilled on his entering it. Fr. Sheil ran a tight ship, so we were already attentive, but now we were also curious: what was the Headmaster doing here? I recall noting that he was carrying a book behind his back. Fr. Sheil turned the class over to the Headmaster, who announced that he was here on a special and pleasant mission, to reward a pupil in Fr. Sheil's Latin class, a pupil who had shown outstanding devotion to Latin. When I heard that, I just *knew* the book Fr. Barber was carrying was going to John Glennan. John bloody Glennan. Always that *little bit* better.

Then Fr. Barber announced my name, and I sat there blank, like a zombie. I was stunned. Why was I getting this book? What had I done? Didn't they know that John Glennan was better at Latin than I was? Fr. Barber smiled at me, and stretched out his hand. Terrified that I'd insult the man, I snapped out of my catatonic state, stood up and walked forward. Amidst the applause of the class (led by Fr. Sheil), Fr. Barber shook my hand and gave me a book called *Atlas of Ancient Civilizations* by Keith Branigan. (It, too, is on the shelves in my office today.) He leaned over and said something like "Congratulations, you've really earned this. Keep it up." I thanked him, took the book, and sat down again, quite embarrassed by it all. I really didn't know why I had received the book. But when I looked over at John Glennan beside me, I was uplifted by his expression of crushed disappointment. He *had* expected to get the book, but for that brief moment at least, *I* was the one who was that little bit better.

Fagans had been sending sons to Belvedere College for a few generations by the time I went in—a great-uncle had even been a Jesuit in residence there, and a Latin teacher—but few had won prizes. My parents were mightily impressed when I brought back the book, inscribed and signed by Fr. Barber beside an embossed seal of the College: "To Garry Fagan, for outstanding work in Latin."

I was mostly interested in what the book had to say about ancient cultures, and reading it introduced me to China, the Indus Valley culture, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the New World. I realized that antiquity was even more varied and complex than I'd thought, and I was sucked in further.

The reason I'd won the atlas should be obvious. It turned out that my two "books" had done the rounds among the teachers. The Jesuits believed in encouraging a student's interests, so the fact that I'd taken the initiative unprompted and produced these two projects was something they noted. That I had written them as much out of boredom as out of commitment was neither here nor there. It had been decided to reward the initiative.

One day in the late spring, as the Dublin weather changed from cold and rainy to merely chilly and wet, I came home from school and my mother said that Dad had a surprise for me. I'd have to wait until he came up from working in the surgery downstairs. The curiosity almost killed me, but I waited it out. When he came up, he produced two airline tickets to Rome for July of that year. My Dad and I were going to spend two weeks in Rome and, in all likelihood, also take a trip down to the Bay of Naples to see Pompeii. I was so excited, I hardly slept for months.

That holiday in the extremely hot summer of 1976 sealed my determination to pursue the study of the Romans as a professional. I had absolutely no idea how to go about reaching that goal at the time, but I knew that there were people out there who made a living doing it and that a university degree or two was needed. If they could do it, why couldn't I? During those two weeks my father and I walked all over Rome, down the Via Appia (seeing the Tomb of the Scipios along the way), visited catacombs, attended a papal audience, visited all the major museums, and got to Pompeii, Sorrento, and Capri as well. The student groups I take to Italy today would be completely worn out by such a punishing pace. I still have photos from that holiday, and it is funny to look at them now and see the 13-year-old me, in horrific 1970s clothes and mirror sunglasses (which at the time I thought were the height of cool), standing in the streets of Pompeii or in front of the equestrian statue of M. Aurelius on the Capitol, which still stood exposed in the Campidoglio in 1976.

Unfortunately, when I entered my second year at Belvedere college Fr. Sheil had moved on (I think he was transferred to another Jesuit college) and we had a substantially less inspiring Latin teacher for the next three years. This priest's method was more traditional (drilling on fine points of grammar) and he lacked Fr. Sheil's sense of humor. Although we read Caesar and I loved all the military information contained in that text—being more familiar than most with the details since I had read so much about the Roman army and, of course, had written my own book on the subject—my interest in the language began to

fade in the face of bone-dry instruction. I was still fascinated by the Romans, but there was no course of study outside of Latin that covered them (history class had started, much to my horror, with the fall of Rome). At the same time, I was becoming enamored with science, particularly biology and physics, and I began to think that maybe a career in science made more sense than my original plan of studying the classics.

At the age of 16 I sat several O-levels in select topics (the O-level was an English exam that the Jesuits encouraged us to take, since they were more demanding than the Irish state Intermediate Certificate exams). One of them was Latin. When the results came in, I had failed the Latin O-level—the only fail in my record. I knew for a fact that this was a clerical mistake, since on comparing notes when leaving the Latin exam, I had done substantially better in the chosen passages than peers who went on to earn B+'s or higher. But when my Dad offered to pay the nominal fee for a re-grading, I said no. I had taken it as a sign from the gods that I should abandon Latin and the Romans and make my way in the sciences. For the final two years of my secondary education, therefore, I dropped Latin entirely and focused on biology and physics.

In the Irish educational system at that time, all students matriculating from secondary school took a state-sponsored examination called the Leaving Certificate. In my day, you normally took seven or eight subjects: four were required—English, Mathematics, Irish, and one foreign language—and three electives. For the latter, I chose History, Physics, and Biology. Letter grades carried a set point value, and on the basis of total points accumulated candidates were admitted to university programs through a government-run Central Application Office (CAO). Students did not apply directly to the university of their choice, but listed fields of study at specific colleges in order of preference, from one to ten. The CAO then assigned students to places in appropriate universities (not necessarily the college of their choice) based on these preferences, space availability, and the points earned in the Leaving Certificate. In my day, I believe, this meant that about 10 % of matriculating secondary schoolers got the chance of attending university.

Given my new commitment to science, my Dad had suggested that I apply to dental school. It made perfect sense since he had a ready-made practice on premises he owned just waiting for someone to take over. I could have made a very nice living looking into people's mouths and fiddling about with fearsome-looking implements. After some long and hard thinking, I ranked Ancient History and Archaeology (AHA) at Trinity College, Dublin as my third preference, after dentistry and natural sciences. Nevertheless, because I had ranked dentistry and science first, should places in AHA fill up with applicants who had earned more points than I had in the Leaving Certificate and had ranked AHA

as their first choice, I risked being passed over entirely and ending up with my fourth or fifth preference, or none at all.

So one night that summer my Dad came into my room, sat on the edge of my bed, and said, "You don't really want to study dentistry, do you?" I replied honestly that I didn't. "I mean, you've always been about the cruel and brutal Romans [a standing joke between us] and you really want to pursue that subject in university, no?" I said he was right. It was, after all, my true passion. "OK, then, let's change your ranking with the CAO," which was possible, for a fee of £30 (if memory serves). And so, because my Dad recognized my true passion and refused to force me into his own profession, in October 1981 I entered Trinity College to study two subjects: Ancient History and Archaeology, and Biblical Studies (the latter covering much of the Ancient Near East and Egypt).

My very first class was "Homeric Archaeology" with Prof. J.V. Luce. I was astonished at the vision of academic distraction that came shuffling into that classroom. He was a caricature of what a professor of Classics should look like. He wore a tweed jacket, which had patches on the elbows and was unevenly buttoned. He looked like an ancient Greek, with a moustacheless beard, a bald pate, and long white hair scuffing his collars. He limped. He carried folded maps and books under his arm and when he spoke, it was in erudite and educated English tones. My class of about ten freshmen was enthralled. Prof. Luce gave us the course syllabus, which was merely a substantial reading list, and then started: "When Heinrich Schliemann discovered the Shaft Graves at Mycenae …".

Ahem.

Who was Heinrich Schliemann? What is a Shaft Grave? And where is Mycenae? The answers to these questions we were expected to research ourselves in the Berkeley Library after class. My great journey of intellectual discovery had truly begun, and I've never looked back since.[1]

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1 Garrett wrote this essay during his time in the Department of Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies at the Pennsylvania State University. Before his death G gave permission to publish this chapter, for which we are grateful.

CHAPTER 3

The Scholarship of Garrett G. Fagan

J.E. Lendon

Garrett Fagan first came to the notice of the world at large when he appeared on television wearing a large white diaper. A full-scale mock-up of a Roman bath had been constructed for a documentary, and Garrett, as the leading English-speaking expert on such establishments, had been invited to try it out. Both in private and in public baths Roman men bathed naked. But Garrett Fagan could not actually appear *naked* on a family TV channel, could he, so the costume department folded a bed-sheet into what they hoped was a classical-looking sort of cover-up, and the result was that the world witnessed a plump, half-naked academic, talking passionately in a strong Irish accent, while clad in a prodigious diaper. I have never forgotten the horror of that spectacle, nor have I ever lost my awe of the fact that, in order that the public at large might know about Roman baths, Garrett Fagan was willing to be filmed wearing that diaper.

Garrett Fagan's role as a scholar in the greater world—his frequent appearances on television and his excellent series of lectures for the Teaching Company—is not the subject of this paper: it is rather his scholarship, and his place and contribution within the discipline of Ancient History. But his role as a public scholar is far from irrelevant. That role evolved from his teaching, and so similarly did his scholarship. For what Garrett Fagan's academic writings have in common is the duty, grounded in sound pedagogy, of revealing the familiarity, where appropriate, of what at first glance seems strange. The great mass of contemporary historians do the opposite: they seek to reveal the strange in the familiar ("defamiliarization" in the jargon of the trade). That is nearly the creed of contemporary academic history which, combined with its dreadful literary style and a technical terminology borrowed from literary criticism and sociology, confines most of today's academic historians to a readership limited to their miserable colleagues. Not so Garrett Fagan, who never wrote a sentence that would puzzle a cultured reader, and who wrote a great many sentences that would inspire any reader to seek after culture.

A related division among historians—and another in which Garrett Fagan was also in an admirable minority—is into splitters and lumpers. Most historians today, devoted to the particular specialness of their specialism, are splitters, but Fagan was a lumper: the best teachers usually are. When he saw similarities between ancient practices, he said so. And he sought similarities across

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cultures as well and put them to work to illuminate antiquity: his use of comparative method was perhaps the most distinctive feature of his scholarship, and perhaps the aspect of his writing that will give his work the greatest long-term significance.

The originality and courage of Fagan's use of cultural comparison must be understood and admired in the context of the intellectual headwinds he faced in Roman History, first the "Oxford Minimalism" sponsored by two successive Camden Professors at Oxford, Peter Brunt and Fergus Millar, an anti-theoretical creed suspicious of any claim about antiquity not directly provable from the classical sources, and therefore hostile to comparative work (since other societies are by definition deficient in evidence from classical sources).[1] And as Garrett Fagan's sadly truncated career progressed, the modes of today's Cultural History seeped into the study of Ancient History. To cultural historians it is an article of faith that the individual or mass psychology of historical persons can only be understood as an outgrowth of the idiosyncratic culture of their own society. And because cultural history asserts the perfect singularity of each society studied at the moment the historian's eye falls upon it, it is also hostile to historical comparison.

I must confess that when I set out to write this chapter I looked particularly forward to rediscovering those writings that evoked the joyfully eccentric reality of the Garrett that his friends and students knew in person: the madcap humor, the staunchless verbal invention, the charm, the blarney, the irresistible charisma. There were excellent reasons that Garrett was the go-to guy when a talking head was needed for a TV documentary. And the Teaching Company chose wisely when they chose Garrett to do their programs about the history of Rome.[2] Garrett justly had the greatest public profile of any Roman historian in the US, and for tens of thousands of Americans he *was* the voice of Roman history. All his written work was enlivened by the use of sparkling detail. Fishermen-pirates! Magistrates growling at contumelious defendants! Verres crucifying a Roman citizen! Nero mugging passers-by by night! "Prowlers" in the Forum! Rude and obscene graffiti! Nor was his style less enjoyable: who else would refer to the quarrel between Corcyra and Corinth that eventually blew

1 "In preparing the work I have rigidly avoided reading sociological works on kingship or related topics, or studies of monarchic institutions in societies other than those of Greece and Rome … For to have come to the subject with an array of concepts derived from the study of other societies would merely have made more unattainable the proper objective of a historian, to subordinate himself to the evidence and to the conceptual world of a society in the past," Millar (1977) xii.

2 In 1999, 2005, and 2008. See the Cumulative Bibliography in this volume for these lecture series.

up into the Peloponnesian War as "over what would be termed in gangster circles a matter of 'respect,'" or to Romans who were easily inspired to violence over status as prone to "trigger-happy tetchiness?" To the "miasma of condescension" hanging over the works of elite writers when they slum through the lives of the less fortunate, as in *The Golden Ass*? But deep-down Garrett took scholarship extremely seriously, and never mocked his subject. Quite the opposite.

For it so happened that Garrett's work on history for a wider public made him aware and ever more frustrated with the industry he called "pseudo-archaeology," the mass of persons to whom television is so relentlessly kind who insist that space-aliens built the pyramids, or that all human civilization descends from drowned Atlantis. He edited a book on the subject, *Archaeological Fantasies* (2006), recruiting eminent debunkers such as Mary Lefkowitz and Alan Sokal. And in such a volume more than anywhere else in his writings he must have felt the nearly ineluctable draw towards reproducing in print the joyful mock and raillery that made his conversation so fascinating, that made one attend to his talk like a cobra to a snake charmer. Not so. His "Diagnosing Pseudoarchaeology" in that volume (23–46) is a work of marmoreal dignity, like a hat on an elderly duchess. It is also, in its grim list of logical fallacies and rhetorical shifts, and not least because it is so solemn and somber, wholly destructive of its target.

A final aspect of this scholarly seriousness was Garrett Fagan's deep respect for the intellectual tradition in which he worked. His footnotes are full, and his bibliographies long. But more important, in a world of English-speaking scholarship which increasingly seems to have forgotten that the true home of ancient history is not in America, or in England, but in France and especially Germany, Garrett Fagan defied his generation and set the example of proper and necessary attention to writings in languages other than English. He may not agree with Egon Flaig, perhaps the best mind in ancient history in the last half-century. But, unlike almost all scholars who write in English, he *read* Egon Flaig.

1 *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*

Garrett Fagan's scholarly career was almost throttled at the outset. Imagine his horror when he witnessed, as he was finishing a dissertation on Roman baths (1993), the publication of Fikret Yegül's enormous *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (1992). This stood at the end of a long tradition of the archaeological and architectural study of Roman baths, a tradition easily explicable,

baths being ubiquitous in the Roman world—a large city might have hundreds, often including the largest structures in a city, and often (especially at Rome) still standing. This present author, like every other child with interests in things antique, thrilled to paper plans of the enormous baths at Rome, and learned early to trace the different rooms—the *tepidarium*, *caldarium*, and *frigidarium*. But decades of emphasis on the typology of baths served as nearly a conspiracy to conceal the greater questions: Why baths at all? Why so many? Why public baths? Why some so big?

When Garrett Fagan was pre-empted by another architectural study, it proved a blessing because it allowed him to write a wholly new kind of book, one that took the experience and social significance of bathing as its topic, and that, although it naturally made much use of architectural evidence, was based instead on literary testimony mated especially to Latin inscriptions (of which a formidable appendix is attached to the book), and which made use of cross-cultural comparison (especially to Japanese and Middle-Eastern bathing practices). *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (1999) created a whole new field of study, and has become a standard work and a minor classic.

Part of the need for the book was to point out to English-speaking audiences things of which no spa-going German or Frenchman need be reminded: that bathing has often been (and still is) regarded as healthful quite apart from the bodily cleanliness it provides. Indeed, Fagan incidentally gathers testimony that Roman baths, crowded with dirty manual laborers, customers anointed with oil, and sufferers from ailments of the skin, may have been far less clean themselves and cleansing for their clients than we today would find acceptable. Garrett postulated that a medical fad for healthful bathing may, indeed, have inaugurated and driven forward the habit of bath-building in Roman Italy. But once the habit of bathing was brought into existence, it continued primarily because of the baths' social function, the bath as pub (normally without liquor, although some bathers brought their own wine).

The book is especially interesting on how bathing might fit into a Roman day, with a party of diners (for example) going to the baths together before they adjourned to one of their houses for their meal. And Garrett faces straight-on the puzzle presented especially by monumental baths in Rome's almost dementedly hierarchical society: did the high and low all get naked together and actually … *mingle*? Was going to the bath a holiday from the normal social order, from the cruel verticality of Roman society? No, it was not, Garrett asserted. High and low, male and female, all did take their clothes off and share the baths and were rarely separated formally from one another by architecture or bathing times or fee-structure. But the swarm of slaves that accompanied the high preserved them from being jostled by the low, protection that involved a

good deal of buffeting of the low, casual violence arising from the Roman social structure the analysis of which would remain a particular interest of Garrett Fagan's for the rest of his career.

The book also interested itself in the multiplication of baths, especially in the western provinces of the Empire. Baths were firm members of that set of public buildings considered worthy projects for construction driven by *philotimia*, rivalry for honor between rich men and their cities. The building of more and greater baths than a city could possibly need is thus explained: baths were, of course, built to be bathed in, but they were also built to be admired and counted and compared to the baths of rival cities, so they might grow far to exceed a city's bathing needs. But the city of Rome itself presents a problem. Garrett explains Rome's eleven enormous imperial *thermae* with the attractive notion that rivalry for glory operated between imperial dynasties, each trying to out-do its predecessors in bath-building. But for the most part only emperors were allowed to undertake honor-seeking projects in Rome itself. How then are we to account for the—by the only count we have—over *eight-hundred and fifty* smaller public and private baths in the city, which appear not to have been imperial prestige projects? One suspects, had Garrett Fagan been spared, that he would have returned to answer this question.

2 *The Lure of the Arena*

I can just about carry the books I own about gladiatorial combat published in the 1990s. In 1992 Thomas Wiedemann's *Emperors and Gladiators* saw the light of day; 1993 brought forth the Delphic utterances of Carlin Barton. In 1995 Paul Plass introduced Whorfian crypto-types into the discussion; but by 1997 Alison Futrell had thankfully forgotten them. And 1998 saw Donald Kyle broadening the question and denying a useful distinction between games and other spectacles.[3] Considered individually, the diagnoses of the importance of gladiatorial combat contained in these books can seem quite plausible, and I must confess to a lingering sympathy for Wiedemann's theory that displaying the basest of mankind—the gladiator—elevated to glory by the ur-Rome quality of *virtus*, or physical courage, reflected and recapitulated something important in the Roman reptile-brain. But, of course, such a mass of arguments all implicitly refute each other and together form a massed symptom of an ailment of

3 Wiedemann (1992); Barton (1993); Plass (1995); Futrell (1997); Kyle (1998). See Fagan's (2011, 17–22) summary of the scholarship before his own, which remains excellent.

our own, our collective fixation with the phenomenon of gladiatorial combat. Who decided that gladiatorial combat had to be the key, somehow, to decode all of Roman society?

It was not against any specific instrument in the orchestra of that scholarship, but against its whole collective noise, that Garrett Fagan set to write in *The Lure of the Arena* (2011).[4] His fundamental point is that gladiatorial combat is not special, not a Roman cultural curiosity: it is we, who have in the last century abandoned bloody executions and sports, who stand apart from the commonality of mankind, where sanguinary entertainments of different types were nearly universal. Nor are even we—who still thrill to sports such as boxing and "Mixed Martial Arts" or "Ultimate Fighting"—*all that special.* Suppose that all those laboring under sentence of death in the state of Pennsylvania were set to mortal combat in Penn State's immodestly sized football field (Garrett thus winked at his employer): "To be sure, there would be vociferous opposition to such a spectacle from various quarters, but is there any real doubt that enough people would be found to fill the 110,000 seats in Beaver Stadium?"[5] The arena did not appeal to the Romans because of some peculiar Roman vampirism for blood, but for much the same reason people go to modern sporting events (here Garrett's characteristic taste for comparison appears again). It is to be understood on the basis of modern psychological research and historical parallels from the nineteenth century to the present. The audience admired the artistry of the competitors (gladiators being among the most extensively trained people in the Roman world); spectators had the psychological joy of feeling at one with the rest of the crowd (something anyone who has ever visited a well-attended athletic event can vouch for). The Roman element was merely the exaggerated quality of the Roman social order, where the high were so very noble and the low were so very wicked, and the gap between them so very wide. The audience (carefully divided in their seating by rank) represented the heights and middle of that society, while the gladiators and beast-fighters and convicts-to-be-executed (although the first in particular could, paradoxically, achieve enormous fame), represented the bottom, the legally infamous, the slaves, and the condemned. Those who appeared on the sand enjoyed no moral sympathy from the audience (unless the process of killing them somehow went against the rules, which offended the spectators' sense of fair play), and there was thus moral edification to watching them die: they deserved it.[6]

4 Now to be read with Fagan (2015 and 2016), bringing some aspects up to date.

5 Fagan (2011) 231.

6 In a subsequent article, Fagan (2016) identified another similarity between ancient and modern spectacle: by cataloguing the stage machinery that was used in the Roman arena, both the

vorhanden; deshalb ist es sicher, dass der ergänzte Rest im linken Teil dieser letzten Zeile gestanden hat.

Anders ist es in bei dem Diplom: Eck und Pangerl 2012 = *AE* 2012, 1945; der Text auf der Innenseite von tabella I lautet: [*praeter*(*ea*) *praestitit, ut*] *liber*(*i*) *eor*(*um*) *quos* / [*praesidi provinciae*] *ex se antequam*; die letzte Zeile ist damit vollgefüllt, darunter ist kein Platz mehr vorhanden. Zwar wurde bisher der Text mit [*in castra irent procreatos probaver*(*int*) / *cives Romani essent*] weitergeführt, der aber auf tabella II oben gestanden haben müsste.

Dies wiederum ist nicht sehr wahrscheinlich, vor allem wenn man das dritte Beispiel mit der Sonderformel auf tabella I außen und innen heranzieht. Denn hier steht im Jahr 206 unter der Herrschaft von Septimius Severus und Caracalla (deshalb der Plural *praestiterunt*!) auf der Außenseite von tabella I die gesamte Formel: *praeterea praestiterunt filiis decurionum et centurionum, quos ordinati susceperunt,* ⟨*ut*⟩ *cives Romani essent*. Auf der Innenseite von tabella I, die vollständig ist und erst nach der Veröffentlichung der Außenseite zugänglich wurde, stehen unten nur noch die Worte: *Praeterea prae*(*stiterunt*) / *filiis decur*(*ionum*). Bei diesem Diplom ist jedoch tabella II vollständig erhalten ist. Dort aber wird der Text der Formel **nicht** fortgesetzt, dort steht vielmehr wie auch bei fast allen anderen Diplomen sogleich die Datumsangabe. Diejenigen, die dieses Diplom anfertigten, haben sich gar nicht die Mühe gemacht, hier von der Routine der Verteilung des Diplomtextes auf den beiden Innenseiten von tabella I und II abzuweichen.

Bedenkt man diesen Befund, dann darf man auch bei dem Diplom: Eck und Pangerl 2012 = *AE* 2012, 1945 eher davon ausgehen, dass zwar auf der Innenseite von tabella I der Text stand:

> [*praeter*(*ea*) *praestitit ut*] *liber*(*i*) *eor*(*um*), *quos* / [*praesidi provinciae*] *ex se antequam,*

dass aber der Rest

> [*in castra irent, procreatos probaver*(*int*), / *cives Romani essent*]

nicht auf tabella II oben weitergeführt wurde, sondern einfach weggelassen worden war.

Aus diesem Befund folgt aber mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass ebenso bei dem neuen Diplom die Ergänzung des Textes folgendermaßen aussehen muss. Der Anfang der Formel:

> [*Praet*(*erea*) *p*]*raest*(*itit*) *ut li*/[*beri eorum, quos praesidi provi*]*nc*(*iae*) *ex se*

steht auf tabella I unten; der Rest aber wurde nicht auf die tabella II oben geschrieben. Dies ist zumindest bei einer Beachtung des Gesamtbefundes dieser Diplome die wahrscheinliche Lösung. Falls man einmal ein Diplom finden sollte, bei dem beide tabellae erhalten sind und zudem die Sonderformel von tabella I auf tabella II weitergeführt wird, müsste man die Ergänzung erneut überdenken. Beim gegenwärtigen Wissensstand muss man jedoch davon ausgehen, dass die rationelle Routine bei der Herstellung der beiden tabellae der Diplome auch hier nicht durchbrochen wurde.

Das Fragment gehört wohl, wie oben schon erläutert, in die ersten Jahre nach der Neuregelung durch Antoninus Pius im Jahr 140 n.Chr. Somit lässt sich folgender Text rekonstruieren, zunächst der Innenseite:

> [*Imp*(*erator*) *Caes*(*ar*) *divi Hadriani f*(*ilius*) *divi Traian*(*i*) *Parth*(*ici*) *nep*(*os*) *divi Nervae abnep*(*os*) *T*(*itus*) *Ael*(*ius*) *Hadrian*(*us*) *Antonin*(*us*) *Aug*(*ustus*) *Pius pon*(*tifex*) *max*(*imus*), *tri*(*bunicia*) *pot*(*estate*) --, *imp*(*erator*) *II?*, *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *III*, *p*(*ater*) *p*(*atriae*)
>
> *equitib*(*us*) *et peditib*(*us*) *qui mil*(*itaverunt*) *in al*(*is*) --- *et coh*(*ortibus*) --- *quae app*(*ellantur*) --- *et sunt in Pannonia inferiore* (*?*)
>
> *quinqu*(*e*) *et vigint*(*i*) *stip*(*endiis*) *emer*(*itis*) *dim*(*issis*) *hon*(*esta*) *miss*(*ione*),
>
> *quor*(*um*) *nom*(*ina*) *subcr*(*ipta*) *sunt, c*(*ivitatem*) *R*(*omanam*), *qui eor*(*um*) *non hab*(*erent*), *ded*(*it*) / *et conub*(*ium*) *cum uxor*(*ibus*), *q*(*uas*) *tunc hab*(*uissent*), *c*]*u*[*m* / *est civ*(*itas*) *i*(*i*)*s data, aut cum i*(*i*)*s, quas p*]*ostea du*/[*x*(*issent*), *dumt*(*axat*) *singul*(*is*). *Praet*(*erea*) *p*]*raest*(*itit*) *ut li*/[*beri eorum, quos praesidi provi*]*nc*(*iae*) *ex se.*

Außenseite:

> [-- / *exgregale* / --] *Pannonio* / [--*f*(*ilio*) / *fil*(*iae*) *eius et* --]*minae fil*(*iae*) *eius.* /
>
> [*Descrip*(*um*) *et recognit*(*um*) *ex tabula ae*]*rea, quae* / [*fixa est Romae in muro post*] *templum* / [*divi Aug*(*usti*) *ad Min*]*ervam.*

Der Befund zur Dokumentation der Sonderformel auf den bisher bekannten Zeugnissen zeigt ein verwirrendes, aber auch aufschlussreiches Bild, wie man unter Aufsicht der kaiserlichen Administration und der Kontrolle durch die Siegelzeugen bei diesen besonderen Diplomen vorging. Dabei ist zu berücksichtigen, dass diese im Gesamtzusammenhang der Ausfertigung der Diplome eine seltene Ausnahme bildeten, da sie eine Formel enthielten, die bei der übergroßen Masse der anderen Diplome nicht vorhanden war. Natürlich stand der Privilegierungstext mit dem Zusatz, der ausnahmsweise auch Kinder betraf,

auf der Außenseite von tabella I. Dort konnte jeder, der den Inhalt eines Diploms kontrollieren wollte, sehen, dass die nach dem Vater angeführten Nachkommen, Söhne und/oder Töchter, zu Recht das Bürgerrecht erhielten, weil sie vor dem Beginn des Militärdienstes des Vaters geboren und auch ordnungsgemäß dem Statthalter angezeigt worden waren; denn diese Konzession hatte der Kaiser bei seiner „Reform“ zugestanden. Diese Angaben über die Anmeldung der Kinder vor dem Eintritt ins Heer waren im Büro des jeweiligen Provinzstatthalters in der Matrikel beim Namen des Vaters vermerkt. Als nach dem Ende der Dienstzeit der einzelne Soldat das Bürgerrecht erhalten sollte, wurden diese speziellen Angaben, die bei seinem Namen standen, für ihn zusammen mit denen für alle anderen ausgeschiedenen Soldaten nach Rom gemeldet. Im *officium*, wohl des *ab epistulis*,[17] wurde sodann die kaiserliche Konstitution ausgefertigt, die eine Liste mit allen Details zu den einzelnen Soldaten enthielt, die anschließend auf eine *tabula aerea* übertragen wurde, die in Rom *in muro post templum divi Augusti ad Minervam* veröffentlich wurde. Dieser selbe Text ging zusammen mit der Liste der einzelnen Soldaten aber auch an den Unternehmer, der für das *officium* die Diplome herstellte. Bei der Produktion der Diplome, deren Gravur auf die Bronzetafeln durchaus aufwendig war, rationalisierte man die Arbeitsabläufe, wie man an vielen anderen Details nachweisen kann; denn für jeden Veteranen einer Konstitution musste ein eigenes Dokument hergestellt werden; oft waren das sehr viele Veteranen, manchmal viele hunderte. Umfangreiche Teile dieser Diplome waren textlich für alle gleich, vor allem der Text der Innenseite von tabella I. Von der Titulatur des Kaisers bis zum normalen Schlusswort *singulis* war der Text reiner Standard, ohne jede Variabilität. Diese Innenseite der tabellae I hintereinander zu produzieren, bot sich an, da die Graveure immer wieder dasselbe eingravieren konnten, sozusagen wie am Fließband. Diese Innenseite konnte man sogar schon produzieren, bevor die Liste mit allen Details aus dem *officium* geliefert wurde, denn dieser Text blieb während eines ganzen Jahres stets der gleiche.[18] Wenn man schließlich die Liste mit den Namen der Soldaten erhielt, konnte auch die Vorderseite mit der Einheit des Empfängers, dem Kommandeur dieser Einheit sowie vor allem dem Namen des Veteranen graviert werden, ebenso die tabella II, auf der neben dem Datum die Einheit, der Kommandeur und der Name des Empfängers standen. In vielen Fällen haben die Graveure, wenn sie die Vorderseite von tabella I herstellten, wohl nicht darauf geachtet, dass der Text auf

17 Carboni (2019) 411–439.

18 Für die vorgezogene Erarbeitung der Standardtexte spricht auch z.B., dass häufig die genaue Datierung mit den Konsuln nachgetragen wurde; siehe grundsätzlich Weiß (2007) 187–207.

der Innenseite bereits den gesamten Raum ausgefüllte, so dass es nicht mehr möglich war, den Zusatz mit *praeterea* dort noch unterzubringen, falls dieser auf der Außenseite erscheinen musste. Vermutlich hat man das auch meist gar nicht kontrolliert; denn man wusste ja nach hunderten oder tausenden von Diplomen, dass dort das Nötige bereits eingraviert war. Bei dem Diplom vom 25. Januar 206 hat man, wie der Befund klar zeigt, die Diskrepanz – warum auch immer – festgestellt und dann versucht, wenigstens einen Teil der Formel noch unterzubringen.[19] Die letzten Worte des normalen Textes: *singulis singulas*, standen fast am unteren Ende der tabella. Als man bemerkte, dass ein Textteil der Vorderseite fehlte, schrieb man hinter *singulas* noch *praeterea prae*(*stiterunt*) und quetschte in den schmalen Raum darunter noch *filiis decur*(*ionum*), hörte dann aber auf, weil man realisierte, dass der vollständige Text dort keinen Platz finden konnte. Die tabella II mit dem Namen des Empfängers war bereits fertig, so dass man dort den Rest der Formel nicht mehr unterbringen konnte, selbst wenn man es gewollt hätte. In diesem Fall kann man somit unmittelbar nachweisen, dass man die Unvollständigkeit der Formel bewusst in Kauf genommen hat.

Was im Fall dieses Diploms von 206 nachzuweisen ist, scheint aber auch in den meisten anderen Fällen zuzutreffen. Die eingespielte Verteilung des Textes auf der Innenseite der beiden tabellae garantierte eine rationelle Produktionsweise. In diesem Verfahren gingen die meisten Diplome mit den *praeterea*-Zusätzen schlicht unter. Nur in wenigen Fällen wich man von der Routine ab und versuchte wenigstens zum Teil die Formel auf der Innenseite von tabella I noch unterzubringen. Ob dies durch besonders aufmerksame Bearbeiter einzelner Diplome geschah, lässt sich nicht feststellen. Von dem Unternehmer, der die Diplome herstellte, kam sicherlich kein Druck, darauf zu achten.

Auffällig bleibt aber bei diesem Verfahren, welche Rolle die sieben Zeugen, die die korrekte Abschrift von der *tabula aerea* mit ihren Siegeln auf der Außenseite von tabella II bestätigten, dabei spielten. Da bei acht Diplomen der Text der Innenseite die Formel entweder überhaupt nicht oder höchstens zum Teil enthielt, kann man es kaum noch als ein Versehen ansehen, dass sie das Fehlen nicht monierten. Dann bleiben nur zwei Möglichkeiten: Entweder haben die Siegelzeugen den Verstoß gegen das Prinzip der Doppelurkunde bewusst ignoriert oder sie haben den Innentext der beiden tabellae überhaupt nicht kontrolliert oder gar nicht kontrollieren können, weil die beiden tabellae bereits durch den Bindungsdraht geschlossen waren. Ihr Verhalten ist wohl in beiden Fällen dadurch begünstigt worden, weil man weithin davon ausging, dass die Diplome

19 Dau Eck (2018) 237–244.

kaum je geöffnet würden.[20] Wichtig was der Text auf der Vorderseite, er genügte normalerweise in der Praxis, obwohl der rechtlich gültige Text bei einer Doppelurkunde auf der Innenseite stand. Ob das ein Richter auch so gesehen hätte, wenn in einem Streitfall um das Bürgerrecht von Kindern doch einmal ein Diplom geöffnet werden musste und er die Diskrepanz feststellen musste, hing wohl von seinem persönlichen Sinn für die Korrektheit von Urkunden ab. Die Folgen konnten jedenfalls für den einzelnen Diplomempfänger und seine Kinder gravierend sein.[21]

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20 Mindestens einmal muss das freilich geschehen sein, wobei festgestellt wurde, dass auf der Innenseite von tabella I alle Namen der Auxiliareinheiten weggelassen worden waren oder zumindest ein Teil der Namen. Dies wurde im Jahr 152 n.Chr. entdeckt, worauf diese Praxis schlagartig aufhörte; siehe Eck (2007) 87–104; ferner, Eck (2012) 44–46.

21 Siehe zu manchen der hier angeführten Überlegungen schon Eck (2018, 2019).

Garrett Fagan war 2003/2004 Stipendiat der Humboldt-Stiftung und arbeitete in dieser Zeit am Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln. Wir haben ihn alle als einen angenehmen, diskussionsfreudigen Kollegen geschätzt und in Erinnerung behalten.

[Korrekturzusatz: Dan Dana wird in ZPE 2021 ein weiteres Diplom publizieren, in dem schon im Sept./Okt. 142 der praeterea-Zusatz mit der Differenzierung [*ut liberi*] *decurio*[*num et centur*(*ionum*), *quos praes*(*idi*) *prov*(*inciae*), *item c*]*aligat*(*orum*), erscheint.]

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CHAPTER 7

The Trial of Jesus Revisited

Werner Riess

The trial of Jesus is unquestionably historically and religiously significant. It was the most famous trial of the Roman Empire, and interpretations of its meaning stem from as early as 2,000 years ago. This essay does not focus on a theological discussion of beliefs but rather on the analysis of certain aspects of the process from a historical perspective; however, the dubious historical value of the Gospels as source material poses a fundamental problem. The Gospels do not claim to convey historical truth in a neutrally objective sense; instead, they tell the story of Jesus in order to convince the reader of his unique significance. These texts are thus primarily articles of faith. This study is based on the assumption that the historical research on Jesus that I follow is legitimate and necessary from a historical point of view. I thus treat the four Gospels as historical sources, yet am fully aware that they cannot be synthesized into a single, harmonious Gospel due to their differing biases and the fact that it is generally not possible to move beyond mere assumptions. It is thereby my goal to shed new light on some well-known facts on the basis of more recent historical, social, world-view, and epigraphic research and reflections on Roman legal practices.

1 Legal Issues

The trial of Jesus still raises many procedural questions. By critically examining the recently published book *Der Prozess Jesu. Jüdische Justizautonomie und römische Strafgewalt* by Adalberto Giovannini and Erhard Grzybek,[1] I would like to introduce a possible solution to some of these procedural uncertainties in a first step. The historicity of the trial of Jesus at the Sanhedrin, the highest Jewish court, is a fundamental problem. In John, the event does not appear at all, and in Luke, there is only one hearing but no adjudication.[2] If we wish to

1 Giovannini and Grzybek (2008).

2 For contradictory evidence about the hearing(s) before the Sanhedrin, see Lapide (1987) 55–56. While Crossan (1999, 110) is correct in pointing to Psalm 2 as a crucial source for the evangelists, who were eager to bring the trial of Jesus in line with Old Testament prophe-

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examine the court order of the Sanhedrin as referenced in Mark and Matthew, it first becomes necessary to call the juridical competence of the Sanhedrin into question. Was the court allowed to condemn someone to death under Roman rule, and if so, could it execute the death sentence on its own, or was this right reserved only for the Roman governor?

According to Schürer, who continues to represent the *communis opinio*, the Romans took away jurisdiction from the Jews in capital cases when they enacted the province of Judaea as a *praefectura* in 6 CE.[3] However, this thesis was quick to be rejected by Juster, who stated that the Jews were able to deal out capital sentences in religious matters and execute these sentences with authority even after the enactment of the province.[4] Only a minority of scholars agree with Juster (whom I believe to be correct). Among these are Giovannini and Grzybek, who list all sources that include the Hellenistic treaties of alliance between the Jews and the Roman people, which clearly prove that the Jews—as far as religious transgressions are concerned—had full authority to issue the death sentence as well as to execute it.[5] A quick examination of the competences of a Roman governor corroborates their view. The governor was exclusively responsible for the upkeep of law and order in the provinces.[6] Even issues affecting the Roman community were often solved at the local level and not brought before the governor as they should have been. The underdeveloped administration of the Roman Empire was dependent on this kind of decentralization.

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cies, he goes too far in postulating that all the reports on the trial of Jesus are unhistorical because there was no trial at all (148–149). In light of Roman provincial administration and legal practice, this scenario is more than unlikely, and people were not executed without a court sentence. Cases of lynching justice are attested, but Jesus did not succumb to mob violence. If he had been killed by a raging mob, it would have been even easier for Mark to lay the blame on the Jews. Cohn (1997, 132–188) is slightly less radical and also doubts the historicity of an interrogation by the Sanhedrin yet is convinced of a trial before Pilate.

3 Schürer (1973) 367–372. See also Légasse (1994) 93–94 and Reinbold (2006) 100, according to whom only Pilate was entitled to sentence people to death in Judaea, and Lohse (1964) 78, who views the Sanhedrin's jurisdiction as having been restricted to non-capital cases, the only exception being the trespassing of the holy precinct of the Temple. In this case, only the Sanhedrin could sentence the offender to death. According to Blinzler (1969, 229) the Romans only took away from the Jews the competence to execute the death sentence. Brown (1994, 371) assumes that the Romans permitted the Jews to convict and execute religious offenders.

4 Juster (1914) 132–142, 156; see also Strobel (1980) 112–113. Lietzmann (1931) even argues for a general capital jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin, a thesis refuted, e.g., by Strobel (1980) 18–21. Similar to Lietzmann, see also Winter (1974) e.g., 111–112.

5 Giovannini and Grzybek (2008) 57–72.

6 *Dig.* 1.18.13.

Since we begin with the idea that the Sanhedrin could render the death sentence and execute it in religious affairs, it becomes necessary to ask whether the Sanhedrin sentenced Jesus to death in a legally binding manner or whether the remarks of the Elders were merely informal and expressed their personal opinions. According to Blinzler and Brown, what we are dealing with here is a formal death sentence.[7] But in light of the terminology used by Mark οἱ δὲ πάντες κατέκριναν αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου ("All of them condemned him as deserving of death," 14.64) and Matthew οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν· ἔνοχος θανάτου ἐστίν ("They answered, 'He deserves death,'" 26.66), this cannot be correct, for *enochos thanatou* only means worthy of death or left to die.[8] If the evangelists had intended to render a formal death verdict, they would have written *thanatoun*, or rather, *katakrinein thanatou*. Moreover, a verdict by acclamation, as described by Matthew and Mark, seems unusual in a legal system as sophisticated as the Jewish one was. In summary, it seems most likely that the Elders found Jesus guilty but did not render a formal death verdict.[9]

If the Sanhedrin had the right to sentence Jesus and execute him, why did the Elders approach Pilate? On the one hand, they did so because they had not rendered a formal death sentence; on the other hand, there were tactical considerations that made them opt to consult the Roman governor. The governor had more authority than they had, and the people could not rebel against him. A conviction of Jesus by the Roman governor would turn the blame away from the Sanhedrin. Moreover, it had long been a custom in the provinces to have the governor make important decisions, even if one had the right to make the decision oneself, as it was simply more expedient to turn to the governor. A passage in Plutarch amply testifies to this practice. In this passage, Plutarch complains about the Greeks, who needlessly bring trivial issues before the governor and

7 Blinzler (1969) 182–183, 244; Brown (1994) e.g., 371–372, 528–530; Cf. Giovannini and Grzybek (2008) 81. Demandt (1999, 150) follows Blinzler and Brown but admits that Lk. 22.71 and Jn. 18.19–24, only mention an interrogation.

8 Lapide (1987, 61–62) emphasizes that Luke and John do not even mention a Jewish trial. Mark and Matthew fabricated a "caricature" (62) of a Jewish trial with several procedural irregularities (62–66). Cf. Flusser (1982) 93–97; Strobel (1980) 46–48; Lohse (1964) 80–81.

9 See also Gnilka (1988) 38–39, who doubts that the Sanhedrin held a formal session with all its members. It is more likely that some of its members convened in order to interrogate Jesus and collect evidence against him, a procedure known as *anakrisis* in Greek law. Légasse (1994, 84–85) points to the fact the Jews could not hold a formal court meeting at all because it was the day prior to a religious festival. This means there was only one trial, i.e. the one before Pontius Pilate. See in contrast Lohse (1964) 76, 101, according to whom Mark's version of the Passion is to be preferred because it has preserved the oldest testimony, a methodologically non-cogent statement.

thus deprive themselves of much of their freedom.[10] The Sanhedrin seems to have acted in such a manner.

But how are we to understand the dialogue between the scribes and Pontius Pilate in John 18.31? And most of all, how are we to resolve the contradiction between John 18.31 and John 19.7 that Giovannini and Grzybek pass in silence?[11] In John 18.31 the Jews claim ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα ("we are not permitted to put anyone to death"). In a comprehensive semantic analysis, Giovannini and Grzybek have demonstrated (rightly, I think) that *apokteinai* is to be translated as "to kill," "to murder" in general (i.e., without trial and conviction), and not as "to execute, to put anyone to death," for the Sanhedrin was indeed able—even under Roman rule—to sentence someone to death and execute him for religious reasons. In the synoptic Gospels as well as in all other Greek sources—including the Attic orators and the Septuaginta—"execute" is always rendered with *thanatoun*.[12] So far, I agree with Giovannini and Grzybek. But as soon as they start relating the general *apokteinai* to the mild moral ideas of the Pharisees, who, following Mosaic law, objected to the killing of a human being in general,[13] Giovannini and Grzybek run into logical difficulties. First, they overestimate the importance of the Pharisees whose conflicts with Jesus might not even be historical.[14] Second, if the Pharisees had truly been opposed to Jesus' execution (on grounds of their mild moral ideas), why should they have turned to Pilate in order to ask him for Jesus' execution? There would appear to be no justification for this illogical behavior.

Moreover, Giovannini and Grzybek do not take into consideration John 19.7 a few lines further down, where the Jews refer to other Jewish laws according to which Jesus has to die (the mild Pharisees would not have referred to these harsh laws).[15] This initially appears to be a blatant contradiction to John

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10 Plut. *Mor.* 814e–f.

11 Giovannini and Grzybek (2008) 11–33 on Jn. 18.31.

12 Giovannini and Grzybek (2008) 25–31.

13 Giovannini and Grzybek (2008) 74, 84–85.

14 Reinbold (2006, 110) postulates that the conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees was not historical but rather a later addition to the tradition of Jesus. After the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, the Pharisees were equated with rabbinic Judaism, from which the emerging Christian communities wanted to distance themselves. See also Flusser (1982) 29–34, who observes that the Pharisees do not appear in the Passion stories of the synoptic Gospels and that the conflicts between them and Jesus generally become harsher and harsher the later the Gospels are. According to Flusser (1982, 89, 100), the Pharisees did not turn Jesus over to Pilate.

15 Jn. 19.7: ἡμεῖς νόμον ἔχομεν καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὀφείλει ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι υἱὸν θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν ("We have a law, and according to that law, he ought to die because he has claimed to be the Son of God").

18.31. In fact, the Mosaic ban on killing contradicts many Jewish laws prescribing the death penalty for certain offenses. However, in this scene, the texts do not emphasize this contradiction in the Jewish corpus of laws; it would not make sense in the narrative because the scribes clearly demand Jesus' execution. So, they do not refer to the Mosaic ban on killing, but rather to the procedural restrictions on the one hand—since there had been no formal court sentence against Jesus, they were not able to simply kill him (*apokteinai*) as this would have been murder—and to different Jewish laws according to which Jesus deserved to die (*enochos tou thanatou*) on the other hand. This formulation is in complete accordance with finding Jesus guilty in the synoptic Gospels. Falling short of their own excellent findings concerning the semantics of *apokteinein*, Giovannini and Grzybek put up the untenable thesis that the Pharisees (with their mild opinions) approached Pilate to ask for Jesus' death.

When the scribes appeared with Jesus before Pilate, Pilate immediately assumed that this was an inner-Jewish—i.e., a religious—affair. He did not want to interfere and immediately returned the case back to the Sanhedrin (Jn. 18.31, "Take him yourselves and judge him according to your law"). From this passage it is clear that Pilate confirms the prerogative of the Sanhedrin to sentence someone to death and execute him.[16] If John is not ignorant of Jewish law, John 19.7 is to be taken as a historical fact, i.e. the Jews had laws according to which persons like Jesus had to die. Pilate exactly refers to this situation. In John 18.31 Pilate obviously means to encourage the scribes to render a correct, formal verdict against Jesus, which falls into their purview. And this is indeed what he says: λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ **κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν** κρίνατε αὐτόν ("Take him yourselves and judge him **according to your law**"). Here again, Giovannini and Grzybek are right. If *apokteinein* had meant "executing someone after a fair trial" and Pilate had known that the Jews were not allowed to sentence people to death ("we are not permitted" ...), his immediate transferral of the case back to the Jews would be a sarcastic rejection of the Jewish elders' wishes, a highly unlikely historical scenario. Through their research on semantics, Giovannini and Grzybek have proven the translation "we are not permitted to put anyone to death" (Jn. 18.31) wrong, which is no small merit. I suggest as a new translation: "we are not permitted to kill in an irregular way." Thus, there is no more contradiction with John 19.7. Some Jewish laws did in fact require the

16 Demandt (1999, 152) rightly reminds us that *krinein* does not necessarily refer to the death sentence. Other modes of punishment by the Jews were conceivable, but the context of the passage and especially the reply by the Elders make it quite likely that Pilate and the Jews were speaking about capital punishment.

death penalty, but it had to be meted out only after a formal and correct trial, not in any irregular fashion. The scribes, not the Pharisees, approached Pilate because they had found Jesus guilty and worthy of death, but because of several procedural irregularities during the night session, they had not yet come to a formal court verdict. Pilate reminds the elders of their juridical privileges in religious matters and encourages them to sentence Jesus in a correct way according to Jewish laws and customs. From this perspective, Pilate's reaction does not appear weak but testifies to the governor's respect for Jewish social and legal conventions and his wisdom to have his subjects regulate as many matters for themselves as possible.

2 Reasons for Jesus' Death: Processes of Marginalization

The causes of Jesus' execution require further investigation now as much as ever. In a second step, I thereby shed light on Jesus' position as an outsider from a perspective of historical mentality as well as from a sociological perspective. During his lifetime, Jesus' words and deeds isolated and marginalized him more and more. We can no longer say who Jesus was, but we can indeed examine what people from different social strata and diverse political backgrounds and religious beliefs thought about him as well as how they perceived and represented him. These perceptions can be discerned from extant historical sources. These sources provide a complicated hodgepodge of religious, political, mental, and socio-psychological issues that prove difficult to disentangle. Most of all, the religious issues cannot be separated from the political ones. In the following section, I thus propose four hypotheses:

a) Jesus' unusual behavior at different levels mostly explains the hatred against him. He did not breach laws, nor did he live up to multiple expectations; instead, he maneuvered himself into the position of an outsider. This means that it was mental and psychological dispositions and perceptions on the part of his contemporaries—and not legal issues—that led to his receiving the death penalty.
b) Each of these unusual acts of behavior could individually have warranted the death penalty according to either Jewish or Roman law.
c) A political twist could be ascribed to each of these issues so as to obtain a capital sentence from the Roman governor. The Sanhedrin took on this task.[17]

17 Cf. Strobel (1980) 114.

d) Most charges are passed over in silence in the accounts of the Passion. These lacunae are easy to discover and fill in since the Gospels describe the events leading up to the Passion in a narrative and plausible manner.

3 Lacunae in the Gospels: "Inciting" the People

The Elders stigmatized Jesus as a troublemaker in general terms. Underlying the reproach of "inciting the people," there were diffuse charges from the ranks of the scribes and elders, which the Sanhedrin combined and condensed into political offenses that warranted the death penalty. The evangelists were not interested in these legalistic details. Contemporaries understood which charges of inciting the people were summarily hinted at in the lacunae of the text. These charges—only implied in the text—constitute the social and psychological background of the trial of Jesus. The lacunae include the passages in which the evangelists speak of several witnesses (i.e., in the plural) and many reproaches against Jesus. The evangelists do mention that there were charges but are quick to move on. How can we fill in these lacunae and find out what they insinuate?

> Mt. 26.59–60, Οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὅλον ἐζήτουν ψευδομαρτυρίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὅπως αὐτὸν θανατώσωσιν, καὶ οὐχ εὗρον πολλῶν προσελθόντων ψευδομαρτύρων.
>
> Now the chief priests and the whole council were looking for false testimony against Jesus so that they might put him to death, but they found none, though many false witnesses came forward.
>
> Mt. 26.62, Οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνῃ τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν;
>
> Have you no answer? What is it that they testify against you?
>
> Mt. 27.13, Οὐκ ἀκούεις πόσα σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν;
>
> Do you not hear how many accusations they make against you?
>
> Mk. 14.56–57, Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐψευδομαρτύρουν κατ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἴσαι αἱ μαρτυρίαι οὐκ ἦσαν. Καί τινες ἀναστάντες ἐψευδομαρτύρουν κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντες …

For many gave false testimony against him, and their testimony did not agree. Some stood up and gave false testimony against him, saying …

Mk. 14.60, Οὐκ ἀποκρίνῃ οὐδὲν τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν;

Have you no answer? What is it that they testify against you?

Mk. 15.3–4, Καὶ κατηγόρουν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς πολλά. ὁ δὲ Πιλᾶτος πάλιν ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν λέγων· οὐκ ἀποκρίνῃ οὐδέν; ἴδε πόσα σου κατηγοροῦσιν.

Then, the chief priest accused him of many things. Pilate asked him again, “Have you no answer? See how many charges they bring against you.”

Lk. 23.10, Εἱστήκεισαν δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς εὐτόνως κατηγοροῦντες αὐτοῦ.

The chief priest and the scribes stood by, vehemently accusing him.

Lk. 23.14, Προσηνέγκατέ μοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ὡς ἀποστρέφοντα τὸν λαόν, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ἀνακρίνας οὐθὲν εὗρον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ αἴτιον ὧν κατηγορεῖτε κατ’ αὐτοῦ.

You brought me this man as one who was perverting the people; and here I have examined him in your presence and have not found this man guilty of any of your charges against him.

In other words, where can we perceive Jesus as an outsider whose words and deeds were blasphemous according to Jewish law and seditious according to Roman law? The Gospels provide answers to these questions. I only briefly consider the well-known reproaches, and the topics obviously overlap.

3.1 *Blasphemy and High Treason* (*Son of Man and King of the Jews*)

If it is correct that the charge of blasphemy was brought forward (i.e., that Jesus was alleged to have claimed to be the eschatologically defined Son of Man,[18] which seems to be the main reason for his execution in Jewish under-

18 According to Lapide (1987, 60) Jesus did not commit blasphemy in the sense of Ex. 20.7, Dt. 5.11, or Lev. 24.16, i.e., pronouncing the holiest name of God. Under this definition, calling oneself “Messiah” or “Son of God” was not blasphemy. Cf. contra Blinzler (1969)

standing), it would be easy to ascribe a political implication to this charge. This line of political argumentation is most clearly expressed in Luke 23.2, Τοῦτον εὕραμεν διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν καὶ κωλύοντα φόρους Καίσαρι διδόναι, καὶ λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν Χριστὸν βασιλέα εἶναι ("We found this man perverting our nation,[19] forbidding us to pay taxes to the emperor, and saying that he himself is the Messiah [Riess: Jewish argumentation], a king [Riess: relevant for the Romans].").[20] The use of the death penalty confirms this political charge (*crimen laesae maiestatis*). Crucifixion as a Roman form of execution was reserved for slaves and peregrines who were involved in insurrections. The *titulus* on the cross Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος ("This is the King of the Jews," Lk. 23.38), if it is historical,[21] corroborates this particular charge.[22] However, although Jesus—according to all four Gospels—openly confessed before Pilate to being King of the Jews, which must have been seen as high treason in the eyes of every Roman governor,[23] Pilate allegedly did not find him guilty of anything. This would mean that the governor convicted Jesus *on grounds of unproven political charges*.[24] As we shall see, this hypothesis is quite likely.

188–189, who considers Jesus' affirmative answer to Kaiphas' question of whether or not he was the Messiah to be blasphemy. Strobel (1980, 92–94), however, sees Jesus' blasphemy in his implicit claim of wielding godlike power and possessing divine jurisdiction, even over the Sanhedrin. To Reinbold (2006, 115–116), Mk. 14.62–64 is unhistorical and appears to be a Christian interpretation of the interrogation. See also Müller (1988) 80 and Lohse (1964) 86–87, who demonstrate that the title of "Messiah" had never been connected to the title "Son of God" in the Jewish tradition. A Jewish chief priest would never have uttered this contradiction in public. To the later Christian community, however, it was important to demonstrate that Jesus was not only the Messiah, but also the Son of God.

19 Strobel (1980, 81–86) emphasizes this line of argumentation (*Das Anklagemoment des "Verführers"*).

20 Cf. Strobel (1980) 116.

21 Reinbold (2006, 94–95) doubts the historicity of the *titulus crucis*, whereas Demandt (1999, 169–170) argues in favor of it.

22 Cf. Demandt (1999) 153, who provides sources on the forms of punishment in the case of *seditio* and *crimen laesae maiestatis*. According to Müller (1988, 81–83) Jesus was guilty of *perduellio*.

23 According to Brandon (1968, 146–149), Jesus' action in the Temple was a coup d'etat, an armed attempt at seizing the Temple and overthrowing its establishment. The Romans quelled this revolt as they had done before and continued to do afterward. This hypothesis even connects Jesus with Barabbas and makes them partners in a revolutionary alliance against the Romans. This scenario, however, does not explain Jesus' claim that his kingship was not of this world.

24 For Winter (1974, 69), "Jesus was arrested, accused, condemned, and executed, on a charge of rebellion." However, he states (206), "[t]hat he was executed as a rebel, together with

3.2 *Jesus as Messianic and Prophetic Outsider*

We do not know whether Jesus called himself the Messiah, Son of Man, or King of the Jews.[25] Nevertheless, these concepts were ascribed to him, and he did not sufficiently distance himself from them. Even worse, he presented himself as an outsider by caring for outcasts and thus broke social taboos. What is more, through healings, exorcisms, and commensality with the disdained, he deliberately distanced himself from societal norms, added to his image as an outsider in a performative way, and thereby metaphorically conveyed a message that his opponents understood well. By deriving his superior authority directly from God (e.g., in exorcisms and forgiveness of sins: Lk. 7.47–50) through his unique proximity to God and his ultimate claim to his unique interpretation of divine law—he exclusively set *his* own standards and *his* own criteria of who had access to Heaven and who did not—he upset the masses and caught the attention of the authorities, who perceived such utterances as subversive. More and more, they felt threatened in their own authority. In addition to behaving as though bestowed with superior authority, Jesus sharply criticized the Temple to the point that he finally became violent within its precincts. After a final incident, the representatives of the Temple, the priests, the scribes, and the Elders, who strove to preserve the core of the Jewish faith as embodied in the Temple, felt threatened in their position. The fact that Jesus had been preaching God's word was irrelevant to Pilate. The term "Messiah," which Jesus had been using, was more threatening to Pilate as it was laden with political connotations. The term presupposed that the "big king" (God) would make his reign prevail via a "small king" (Messiah), who had yet to appear. The only thing that remained unclear was exactly who this "small king" would be (a descendant of David's?) and under what circumstances he would appear.

Messiah (*Christos*) means "the anointed one." However, only kings were anointed during biblical times. Moreover, even if Jesus had been able to demonstrate that his reign was not of this world (Jn. 18.36), he could have been misunderstood by Jews and Romans alike, who may have seen a messianic prophet in him—a prophet who embodied the widely held beliefs of eschatology, which were often instilled with anti-Roman sentiments. Jesus' proximity to God (i.e., his transcendent reign) did have a political implication in contemporary

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others who were executed on the same charge, by no means proves that he did work for the overthrow of the existing political system."

25 Winter (1974, 167–168, 197, 201–202, 206) doubts that Jesus affirmed being Christ in the Passion story. However, see also Demandt (1999) 149–150, who firmly believes that Jesus himself and his adherents thought him to be the Messiah.

parlance, namely in the word *basileia*, or "kingdom." A king in a Roman province questioned Roman rule by default. Pilate, therefore, directly asks Jesus in all four Gospels if it was true that he was a king, a *basileus*. The term *messiah*, religiously charged as it was (at least superficially), was not of interest to Pilate.

Finally, according to the translations, Jesus was crucified between two "robbers." The original Greek texts speak of *lestai* (Mt., Mk.). *Lestes* is the Greek translation of the Latin *latro*. Both terms have a similarly broad semantic meaning. What is important in our context is that *latro* and *lestes* denote not only a street robber but also a resistance- and guerilla fighter.[26] It is likely that no one perceived Jesus as a guerilla fighter, but the term *lestes* is even broader than the English terms robber, bandit, or resistance fighter.

From the earliest times onward, prophets were regarded as fascinating outsiders. Due to their seditious speeches, many were indeed stigmatized as *lestai* in Roman times and thus executed.[27] Were the men who were crucified next to Jesus simple bandits, resistance fighters, or even rebellious prophets? We do not know. However, by placing Jesus in this context, Matthew and Mark make it clear that some people—including the politically and legally decisive Roman magistrate—could have perceived him as such a political activist (*titulus crucis*!). Again, we see that it is not necessarily Jesus' concrete behavior, but rather the perception that counts.

3.3 *Jesus as a Radical Itinerant Preacher*

Jesus was not merely a prophet. Due to his wanderings and teachings, he was also a radical itinerant charismatic preacher who represented a decidedly anti-hegemonic world view. His speeches were seen by the Jewish establishment as an incitement of the people. To the average inhabitant of the Roman Empire, the manifold itinerant groups of magicians, sophists, cynics, other philosophers, astrologers, prophets, and eventually also Christians, must have appeared basically the same. These oscillating and enigmatic figures were

26 According to Flusser (1982) 127–128, the two robbers were Zealots who worked for Barabbas. Cf. Riess (2001) 14, 38, 59, 89, 92, 154, 163, 186, 261, 282 and Russell (2016) 261–265 on guerilla warfare and the terms *latro/lestes*. The classical article on the bandits is Shaw (1984).

27 Some examples are Eleazar ben Dinseus, publicly executed at Rome in 53 CE, a certain Menachem, crucified in the 60s CE, Simon Bar Giora, publicly strangled at Rome 70/1 CE after being exposed to the people of Rome in a triumphal procession, and Simon Bar Kochba (cf. Fricke 1988, 211).

simultaneously admired and despised for their "otherness." Why was Jesus able to appear as a radical itinerant preacher? He did not call for a political upheaval. Nevertheless, his messianic "program" was radical in its postulation of a proximity to God that had hitherto been unheard of and was based on the deliberate breaking of taboos and social conventions. In the end, Jesus represented several different images of a bogeyman and became an outsider par excellence. He put off many of his adherents through his negligence of politics (i.e. he did not yield to their pressure to exert violence for political reasons), and he drew the attention of the authorities upon himself and made them suspicious through his eccentric speeches. Finally, Jesus was between the stools: There was no one left to speak in his favor. In the end, perceptions prevailed beyond all else. The Romans regarded him as a political dissident, or an insurgent—which the word *lestes/latro* appropriately captured—via the claim that he was King of the Jews, a claim that he never denied. Jesus' ascetic, itinerant life testified to his calling as a prophet and radical wandering charismatic who constantly transgressed social boundaries. These multi-faceted processes of marginalization that Jesus partly took on voluntarily and partly endured led—in the brutal logic of the time—to his crucifixion as an outsider.

3.4 *Epigraphy and Roman Legal Practice:* **cognitio extra ordinem** *and the Role of Pilate*

We now turn our attention to Pontius Pilate, as a new evaluation of his role is necessary. A crucial issue to this study is the procedure called *cognitio extra ordinem*, which Pilate applied. It will become clear that Pilate was a meticulous governor who took his job seriously and judged and acted rationally. He was neither the monster that Philo and Josephus portray—at least not in this case—nor the innocent victim represented in late-antique hagiography. What can epigraphy and our knowledge of Roman administrative practices contribute to this study? In a Latin building inscription found in the Roman theater of Caesarea Maritima in 1961, Pontius Pilate is mentioned with his official title of *praefectus Iudaea*. The inscription mentions Pilate's involvement with a Tiberieum, but what exactly was a Tiberieum? Géza Alföldy revealed that a Tiberieum could only be a counterpart to a Druseum. As members of the imperial family, Tiberius and Drusus were an inseparable pair of brothers. The Druseum was already known to be a lighthouse on the southern mole of the Roman harbor, which means that the Tiberieum must have stood on the opposite side, on the northern mole. In fact, large ruins in this location hint at an earlier building that Pilate obviously renovated (*refecit*). The lighthouse is dedicated to the sailors (*nautis*) who steered toward the harbor by night and were safely guided into the harbor by the two lighthouses. This maintenance work is

a first-rate expression of loyalty toward Tiberius, and the governor was eager to be on very good terms with the Emperor.[28]

What else do we know about the historical Pilate?[29] An onomastic finding reveals that his family hailed from Samnium. He was an Italian of equestrian rank and had worked himself up from lower military ranks. This means that he lacked the legal education and experience of a senatorial governor and perhaps also the corresponding official conduct. Pilate was more of a military person than an administrative one, and it is possible that his uncertainty during the trial of Jesus stems from this personal history. The historical roots of the biblical protestations of Pilate's innocence—beyond placing the blame of Jesus' death on the Jews—may lie in this uncertainty.[30]

What do we know for certain about the form of the trial? The trial of Jesus was a typical *cognitio extra ordinem*. This form of jurisdiction is characterized by three main features:

> First, there is the free formulation of charges and penalties ... The second is the insistence on a proper formal act of accusation by the interested party. Third, cases are heard by the holder of *imperium* in person on his tribunal, and assisted by his advisory cabinet or *consilium* of friends and officials.[31]

In such a *cognitio extra ordinem*, the magistrate had the greatest possible leeway. This enormous power to act is perfectly well expressed in the fictive dialogue in John 19.10, in which Pilate addresses a silent Jesus with the words: "Do you refuse to speak to me? Do you not know that I have the power to release you and the power to crucify you?" This procedure with the almighty magistrate, who solely relies on his own common sense and the advice given by some friends, appears irrational only to our modern thinking. To the Romans, however, the *cognitio* offered undeniable advantages because it was flexible enough to take into consideration the highly diverse conditions in the vast expanses of the Roman Empire. After scrutinizing a case, it was the task of the governor to render a judgment that was commensurate with the respective cultural condi-

28 Alföldy (1999). Flusser (1982, 110) is one of the few to mention this inscription but does not extract its historical significance.

29 The Jewish literary sources are Jos. *BJ* 2.9.2–4 §§169–177, *Ant.* 18.3.1–19.4.2 §§55–89, and Philo, *Leg.* §§299–310, which portray Pilate as a man prone to stubbornness and violence.

30 Lapide (1987, e.g., 66, 86–92) proves that the positive image of Pilate in some passages of the Gospels (mainly Matthew) is based on their anti-Jewish tendency.

31 Sherwin-White (1963) 17.

tions and situational circumstances. Since the guilt of the accused person could often not be proven, *clementia* (clemency at the hands of the judges)—one of the four imperial virtues—became more and more an integral part of the *cognitio* procedure. Exercising *clementia* not only occurred on the occasion of the Jewish Passover feast but also belonged to legal practice. Therefore, whether or not this custom of releasing an accused person in this context existed does not play a role.[32] However, mercy as a basic principle of pre-modern jurisdiction was always an arbitrary act that took place more or less by chance. If things went wrong, culprits could be released and innocent people could be condemned.

In our case, the governor *was* lenient. In full accordance with Roman law and social expectations, he made use of his prerogative to grant clemency by releasing the resistance fighter Barabbas.[33] Pilate's behavior and mode of reacting are hence typical of a responsible Roman governor who did everything in his power to prevent turmoil in his province or to quell it. Pilate was not weak—he could have released Jesus—but was instead dependent on the Sanhedrin to a certain degree. His scope of action was de facto limited. It seems plausible that the scribes frankly threatened to denounce him to Tiberius (Jn. 19.12: "If you release this man, you are no friend of the emperor. Everyone who claims to be a king sets himself against the emperor."). As a politician, Pilate was an opportunist and was rightly fearful. It was not unusual for local elites to complain about a governor to the Emperor. Pilate did not want and could not afford to take such a risk. The Empire was dependent on smooth cooperation between the Roman power mongers and the local aristocracy.[34] In other words, it would have been reckless and even inopportune for Pilate not to grant the Sanhedrin's wishes. Did Pilate find Jesus guilty of a political crime? There is only one historical piece of evidence that Pilate did *not* find Jesus guilty of a political offense: The governor did not persecute the followers of the charismatic personality.[35]

32 Blinzler (1969, 317–320) sketches out the debate regarding whether or not the Mishna tradition—which clearly speaks of releasing political prisoners on the occasion of the Passover feast—also applies to Roman times. Blinzler is positive that it does.

33 Since *clementia* was ingrained in Roman administrative ideology and practice, I see no reason to doubt the historicity of the scene, unlike Reinbold (2006) 116–120. Flusser (1982, 102–103) believes in the historical accuracy of the idea that the Romans used to release prisoners on the occasion of the Passover feast and that Jesus was not granted this type of amnesty.

34 Cf. Demandt (1999) 166.

35 Reinbold (2006) 98. Bond (1998, 204) adds some additional reasons for Pilate's refraining from persecuting Jesus' followers: "The execution of Jesus was in all probability a routine crucifixion of a messianic agitator. Pilate, however, executed only the ringleader and

If Pilate had perceived the adherents of the "rebel" to be a political danger, he would not have hesitated to execute them, as well. We are thus left with the impression that Pilate convicted[36] and executed Jesus for *unproven* political charges. Arguing that Pilate found Jesus innocent on these accounts (if one wants to follow the Gospels) or highlighting Pilate's uncertainty in this trial would thus be a matter of interpretation.

4 Conclusion

Recent legal history, sociological research on marginal groups and outsiders, and epigraphy and Roman administrative history can shed new light on old and well-known material. It is important to emphasize that other scenarios are also conceivable depending on how the sources are weighed and what level of historicity is ascribed to them.

In summary, the following understanding of biblical history seems plausible:

1. Although the Sanhedrin had the right to condemn Jesus to death and execute the sentence, it seemed opportune for various reasons to have the governor render this verdict. Moreover, although the Sanhedrin and the Roman governor had very diverse perspectives on Jesus, their interests finally converged, which led to Pilate's condemnation of Jesus on grounds of unproven political charges.[37]
2. Processes of marginalization—and not the concrete breaking of laws[38]—led to Jesus' death. Not only was Jesus passively exposed to these processes of marginalization, but he partly contributed to them because he modeled himself as an outsider and distanced himself too little from the messianic expectations ascribed to him. This staged self-marginalization—partly done in performative fashion—was so dangerous because the term "Messiah" was often charged with political content, as was exemplified by

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not his followers. This may again betray a dislike of excessive violence, but also indicates prudence at the potentially volatile Passover season. Again, the governor appears to have worked closely with the Jewish hierarchy."

36 Strobel (1980, 135–137) (based on older literature) rightly postulates a formal verdict of death by Pilate.

37 It is of course also possible that Pilate misunderstood Jesus' godly kingship, was convinced of his claim to political power, and thus considered him a political insurrectionist. This would then be a prime example of a judicial error. Brandon (1968, 141–143) is firmly convinced that Pilate indeed found Jesus guilty of *seditio*. Cf. n. 20 above.

38 Légasse (1994, 66) emphasizes that other authorities would have been competent for judging these transgressions, not the Sanhedrin.

numerous rebel leaders who regarded themselves as the Messiah or were considered as such by their followers. Many of them were executed.

3. More than ever, Pilate appears to have been a multifaceted figure. From the Roman perspective, he was a responsible governor because he had acted opportunely and respected the local aristocracy—and maybe even because he had granted clemency (Barrabas). His non-senatorial descent may explain his uncertainty on legal matters, which has led evangelists to shape Pilate's protestations of innocence in order to represent Jesus as an innocent victim. As opportune as it was for the Sanhedrin to have the governor sentence and execute Jesus, it was equally opportune for Pilate to give in to the pressure of the local aristocrats so as to preserve law and order. The convergence of opportune positions in which Jesus was relegated to a marginal position finally led to the death of the accused Jesus.[39]

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CHAPTER 8

Quintus Arrius, the Roman Triumph, and Christianity

Rene Pfeilschifter

In the eighties of the last century, broadcasts of William Wyler's *Ben-Hur* were a highlight of the weekend in Germany. The television stations aired the film in prime time, directly after the evening news. What impressed me most at the time was not the famous chariot race, but the triumphal procession of Quintus Arrius through Rome. In the preceding scene the consul had been rescued from shipwreck and despair over a naval battle he thought lost. Now he rode in a golden chariot, pulled by four white horses, along the main street of the capital. Standard-bearers, musicians, and flower-scattering girls advance, his troops follow, the people of Rome stand crowded behind the barriers and cheer the victor. The grandeur of the shot, the touching change of fortune not only for Arrius, but also for the galley slave Judah Ben-Hur, who stands next to the consul on the chariot, the magnificent score by Miklós Rózsa—all these factors work together to create a triumph which cannot be presented more spectacularly on the big screen.[1]

This take probably influenced the popular imagination of a Roman victory celebration in the second half of the twentieth century far more than Flavius Josephus and the other classical writers. Of course, the scene in *Ben-Hur* ultimately goes back to the sources, but it is designed according to dramaturgical considerations and with the best on-screen effect in mind.[2] This becomes obvious at the end of the triumph. Arrius gets off the chariot, walks solemnly past a line of captured ships' beaks, ascends a flight of seemingly never-ending steps, reaches a raised platform, and salutes the enthroned emperor. The ruler wel-

1 *Ben-Hur. A Tale of the Christ*, directed by William Wyler, USA 1959, Time index: 88th–91st min.—For sections II–VI of this article, find a slightly more annotated version in Pfeilschifter (2017).

2 The film hardly follows its predecessors in this respect: Lewis Wallace's novel mentions only briefly a magnificent celebration in the Theater of Scaurus; only 20 captured prows are singled out, Wallace (1880) 171. For this difference see also Matijević (2011) 235. The silent movie of 1925 (directed by Fred Niblo, USA, 63rd min.) already had a short color scene in which Ben-Hur and Arrius ride through Rome, cheered by spectators and accompanied by soldiers and bare-breasted (!) flower girls. The preceding intertitle, however, suggests that the scene refers to Ben-Hur's success in the Circus Maximus.

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comes the returning commander and awards him with an eagle scepter before the people. Only later did I learn that a "proper" triumph ended differently, with a sacrifice in front of the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol. And even later I learned that a Roman triumph could end as shown in *Ben-Hur*. In 534 Belisarius concluded his triumph over the Vandals in the dust, lying on the ground before his master Justinian. This is an interesting parallel, and at first glance it seems obvious that the writers of *Ben-Hur*—Karl Tunberg is mentioned in the credits, but the authorship of the script is notoriously disputed—relied on the historiographer Procopius. But there are also big differences: Belisarius walked the whole way, and the destination of the procession was the Hippodrome of Constantinople. There the booty, the captured king Gelimer, and selected Vandals were presented to the enthroned emperor while the people watched from the ranks.[3] For the makers of *Ben-Hur*, this scenario would have been tempting, as it would have provided the opportunity to introduce the circus quite elegantly. After all, the circus is the place of Judah's athletic achievements, which are mentioned for the first time only two scenes later. These differences between Belisarius' and Arrius' triumphs suggest that Procopius' narrative did not serve as a model in the conception of the scene. But this only makes the whole thing more interesting. Why do two triumphal processions, Hollywood's fictitious one as well as Constantinople's real one, end before the throne of the emperor? More generally, why is the religious component cut out on both occasions in favor of a purely profane spectacle?

1 A Cinematic Triumph

The welcome by the emperor seems "wrong" because we scholars of antiquity, despite the considerable progress research has made over the last ten or fifteen years, still regard the Republican triumph as the norm. The film as well as Procopius, however, depict the realities of the Empire, in which a commander could not simply triumph as if Augustus did not exist. The changed political circumstances may not have made much of a difference for the course of the triumph ritual per se because the emperors monopolized the triumph for themselves. This was already enforced by the first *princeps*, Augustus, although in such a way that members of his house were also allowed to triumph. The triumph of Quintus Arrius, which is set in the year 29 CE, falls in this transitional

3 Procop. *Bell.* 4.9.1–12. Further sources: Malalas 18.81; Jord. *Get.* 171–172. For this triumph, see McCormick (1990) 125–129; Meier (2003) 150–165; Beard (2007) 318–320.

period. Arrius is clearly not a relative of the emperor, but "only" a great Roman aristocrat. But, and this is the essential point, at the time the scene is set, there were still triumphators who were not identical with the emperor. The dilemma of how to reconcile the Republican "protocol" of triumph with the new monarchical order was solved at least once as in the film. In 12 CE, Tiberius triumphed over Pannonia and Dalmatia. As Suetonius tells us, "Before turning to enter the Capitol, he dismounted from his chariot and fell at the knees of his father, who was presiding over the ceremonies."[4] Arrius also pays his respects to the emperor (a later, now reigning Tiberius), even if he does not kneel, then he gets back on the chariot and the whole procession turns left, as can be seen clearly at the end of the scene. To the Capitol? That may be, and *Ben-Hur* would be quite compatible with the sources at this point.[5] But in movies only what can be seen happens, or at least only what is mentioned. Wherever Arrius may steer the chariot, for the viewer the triumph ends with the welcome by the emperor.

There are good dramaturgical reasons for not bringing in the Capitol. Sacrificing a bull would have been difficult to show on screen in detail, and a motionless statue of Iuppiter would not have been so impressive as the living Caesar.[6] Above all, however, there is hardly any mention of the traditional gods in the film. The tribune Messala later invokes the supreme god once, just before the chariot race. The film's antithesis to Yahweh or Christ is rather the emperor: the only human in whom God is present, the source of power in the world, the "Divine Emperor," as Arrius addresses his master in the triumph scene. The sacred element is therefore not missing in Arrius' triumph completely. It is embodied in the emperor who is God. The emperor is not only the leader of the Roman conquerors, he is also the religious antagonist of the Jewish people. Both themes are inseparably connected with each other, and the film drives home this point in the first scenes of Messala and especially in his fateful altercation with Judah. Messala's enthusiastic invocation of an all-seeing emperor, who right now watches the East, leaves no doubt that he really believes in the

4 Suet. *Tib.* 20*: ac prius quam in Capitolium flecteret, descendit e curru seque praesidenti patri ad genua summisit*. The translation follows Rolfe.

5 Another way to reconcile fiction with history would be to interpret Arrius' award of the eagle scepter as the bestowal of the *ornamenta triumphalia*, an honor that was already common under Augustus, on which cf. Suet. *Aug.* 38.1; *Tib.* 20; Boyce (1942) 131, 139–140. But this does not work because Arrius enters the city in a chariot and with his troops, thus celebrating a full triumph.

6 These are not decisive objections. In *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (directed by Anthony Mann, USA 1964, 79th–84th min.), Commodus finishes his entry into Rome at the Iuppiter statue in the Capitoline Temple. The sacrifice is omitted.

divinity of the emperor. Judah: "You speak as if he were God." Messala: "He is God. The only God. He is power, real power on earth [...]".[7]

Later in the film the emperor actually appears in person, and how he is portrayed is brilliantly written and acted. Tiberius is only shortly on screen, in the triumph scene and in the one immediately following, in which he pardons Judah in the presence of Arrius and numerous senators.[8] This emperor is neither a monster nor a madman like Peter Ustinov's Nero in *Quo Vadis*. He is an old man—the actor, George Relph, was seventy years old during the shooting—who commands natural authority and holds the reins firmly in his hands. He has a subtle sense of humor,[9] and he acts appropriately when he does not deny his victorious commander's plea for Judah's life and freedom. But the emperor is also so obsessed with his dignity that he prefers to stare silently at the senator, who is not holding the cushion with the eagle scepter close enough to him, until the man realizes his mistake, instead of overcoming the few inches with a simple movement of his own arm. This detail provides a humorous counterpoint to the bombast of the triumph (the viewer does not have the impression that the senator will be executed later for his error), but above all it portrays the emperor as quirky. Such conduct may be comprehensible and understandable, sure, but is this the behavior of a god? In *Ben-Hur*, the emperor is a not unpleasant person, and this is exactly the point. He is only a man—infinitely far away from the peace and the goodness of the son of God. Messala's grandiose declamations are revealed as the empty talk of a confused person.[10]

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7 Iuppiter: 151st min. Divine Emperor: 90th min. Messala and the emperor: 18th–20th, 24th–27th, 29th, 31st–34th min. (32nd: "You speak as if [...]"). Winkler (2001, 65–72) and Junkelmann (2004, 322–323) emphasize the connotations to totalitarian systems, especially National Socialism, in Messala's behavior.

8 88th–92nd min. Neither in the novel nor in the silent movie of 1925 does the emperor appear in action.

9 In the remark on Judah's innocence regarding the attempt on the life of the governor of Iudaea (91st min.): "If not, there's a strange inconsistency in this man who tries to kill my governor yet saves the life of my consul."

10 Scholars are unanimous in assessing the portrait of Tiberius as positive. Junkelmann (2004) 323: "zwar seniler, aber kluger und ausgewogen urteilender Herrscher von vornehmem Wesen, dem nichts Arrogantes oder Despotisches eignet und schon gar kein Caesarenwahn." Lindner (2007) 157–158, 160: "[...] ebenso greisen wie würdigen und intelligenten Regenten" (158). Vidal (1992, 83) claims he was responsible for that part of the script: "Here I was at least able to present the serious Tiberius of Tacitus rather than the scurrilous caricature of Suetonius. My Tiberius resembled a hard-working but totally ineffectual chief executive of a lousy company like Chrysler."

2 A Triumphal Offering for Christ

What about Belisarius and Justinian? Why did the triumph of 534 end before the emperor? The answer to this question will take up the rest of this article—reality is more complex than the fiction of a movie. An official sacrifice in front of a temple was obviously out of the question in the sixth century CE. Constantine the Great had already passed on visiting the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. Two centuries later, the new religion had won universal acceptance in the public sphere. But this only shifts the question. Would it not have been a good option to visit a church, such as Hagia Sophia, to lay down the victory wreath on the altar and to celebrate a thanksgiving service? In this way the triumph would have been christianized.

Indeed, we know for Justinian's period of such an end at the church, not in Constantinople, but in the African province. In the fall of 546, the commander John Troglita defeated the Berbers. In triumph, John and part of his army moved into the provincial capital of Carthage. The rejoicing inhabitants lined the streets, they acclaimed the emperor and greeted the home-comers with palm branches and laurel. The soldiers marched in full battle gear, the dust on their uniforms and the dried blood on their lances bore witness to the heavy fighting. The captured women—the men had been massacred by the Romans in a bloodlust—were carried along on camels. They had mocking words painted on their foreheads, they feared for themselves and for their children who sat on their laps. The Carthaginians, in turn, were pleased and let their children share in the pleasant horror caused by the unfamiliar, dark, and deterrent facial features. Meanwhile John entered the church with his soldiers and prayed. The bishop laid his gift on the altar in thanksgiving for return and victory. Thus John consecrated his offering to the Christ.[11]

The epic poet Gorippus is our only source for this procession. His narrative proves that racism was not invented in the modern period. But that is not what this article is about. In his verses Gorippus draws the ideal picture of a Christian triumph. The commander at the center, victorious soldiers, jubilant citizens, desperate prisoners—and church and altar at the end of the way. Christ had replaced the Father of Gods and Men.

11 Gorippus *Iohannis* 6.58–103: *sic limina templi / magnanimus ductor signis comitantibus intrans / oravit dominum caeli terraeque marisque, / obtulit et munus, summus quod more sacerdos / pro redituque ducis pro victisque hostibus arae / imposuit, Christoque pater libamina sanxit* (98–103). Following Andres (1997) 158–159, I take *pater* as a reference to John. Massacre: 5.439–527. For historical context, see Modéran (2003) 613–644; Vössing (2010) 216–218.

In view of its historical logic, Gorippus' narrative immediately makes sense. Just as paganism gave way to the new religion, so the church took the place of the temple. The triumph was transformed as the ancient world was, it was christianized. This common opinion is based primarily on the fundamental research of Michael McCormick, whose *Eternal Victory* is and will be the reference work for any study of the late-antique and early medieval triumph. An essential development is, for McCormick, "The christianization of imperial victory celebrations." This is the title of the relevant section, but McCormick unfolds his thesis extensively in the initial chapters covering late antiquity: the christianization of the triumph did not happen from one day to the next. In the fourth century, the emperors simply dispensed with the pagan element, and the triumph was neutralized in religious terms. They did this with regard to the traditions of the city of Rome, where most of the triumphal processions still took place (especially those we know a little more about), and, which means practically the same, with regard to the stubborn paganism of numerous Roman senators. The triumph lost some of its importance after 400, and especially in the new metropolis of Constantinople celebrations in the circus became popular. It was not until the mid-sixth century that christianization became clearly visible.[12]

McCormick also discusses John's triumph, but late and rather incidentally, in a chapter on victory celebrations in the provinces. Since John was not an emperor, and since his victory celebration fits into the framework without difficulty, McCormick presumably regarded it as a reflection of the conditions in Constantinople.[13] In this respect it is for him merely a confirmation of what has already been proven. In fact, however, the passage is of outstanding importance. Nowhere else in ancient literature is a triumph described that ends in a church.[14]

12 McCormick (1990), esp. 67 (Justinian), 89 ("religious neutrality"), 100–111 ("christianization […]"): "enough is clear to allow us to discern two phases: first, the neutralization of the pagan cult aspect of imperial celebrations, which introduced a kind of creeping christianization. The latter culminated in the second phase, which witnessed the emergence of specifically Christian victory rites" (101).

13 McCormick (1990) 258: "[…] the provincial ceremony was very much a miniature version of the old fourth-century triumphal entry, decked out with Christian elements."

14 McCormick (1989) 163–164, 168–170 has explicitly pointed out the next parallel: Clovis' entry into Tours 508, when the king not only set off from the Basilica of St. Martin's outside the city, but also ended the procession in the city's cathedral. The decisive victory over the Visigoths in the previous year certainly could have been reason for a triumph. But Gregory of Tours *Hist.* 2.37–38 describes the scene as a mixture of *adventus* and consular procession. Neither prisoners nor booty are mentioned. Hauck (1967) 46–50 suggests with good arguments that the *munera* for the Basilica of St. Martin also consisted of cap-

Why is that so? Of course, our lacunose sources may be the reason. In my opinion, however, the problem goes deeper. Not only can no other concluding church visit be proven, but there is no evidence at all for a christianization of the triumph. Such a transformation did not take place in antiquity, it happened later, in the Middle Byzantine period. This thesis does not fundamentally contradict McCormick's findings, but it postpones the crucial phase of the development for some centuries.

3 What Was a Triumph?

McCormick's thesis of the christianization of the triumph seems almost irrefutable. Was there not a tight amalgamation of Christian symbolism, liturgy, and doctrine with the success of the Empire? It was probably for this reason that McCormick analyzed the triumph together with other forms of victory celebration. Unfortunately, nowhere did he define what constitutes a triumph and what distinguishes it from the other forms of celebration, but it is important to separate the categories carefully. A triumph is not equal to a victory, and a victory is not equal to permanent victoriousness.

The Romans themselves contributed to the blurring by commemorating the ritual of the triumphal procession through depictions in arches, statues, and inscriptions, on paintings and on coins. The ephemerality of the short performance was thus transferred into a potential eternity. The permission for the Republican *triumphator* to put on the laurel wreath again on special occasions had in a certain sense already allowed a sporadic repetition of the triumph. The fact that the emperors were then allowed to wear it constantly, together with the triumphal robe; that they accepted triumphal acclamations for the victories of their commanders; that they borrowed elements of the triumphal procession for their ceremonial entries into cities—all this contributed to a perpetuation of the triumph, which became all the more urgent the less there was cause for actual triumphs. Over time, emperors tended to relinquish personal campaigning in the field. This, and the absence of great military successes, made it advisable to emphasize the quality rather than the event, that is, the permanent victoriousness rather than the fleeting victory. This is McCormick's "Eternal Victory."[15]

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tured liturgical objects. Clovis, however, had donated them before he entered the city. On the event see Dufraigne (1994) 258–259 with n. 43; Becher (2011) 235–239.

15 McCormick (1990) 21–34, 68. On the buildings, monuments, and paintings, see Hölscher

As true as these observations are, which he and others have made, they say little about the triumph itself. For all the transfer of symbolic meaning, for all the borrowing of separate elements, the triumph itself remained what it had always been: a public ritual, that is, a chain of action standardized in its external sequence, designed for repetition and symbolically charged, by which participants and spectators were integrated into a group context. This does not mean that the ritual remained unchanged. The fact that the triumphal procession can be traced throughout Roman history shows a remarkable capacity to adapt to new structures. The triumph of the Republic, celebrated in the aristocratic consensus of the senators, survived appropriation by the monarchical ruler. As the Romans fought more often in civil wars, they also triumphed more often after civil wars. Over time, the bond with the city of Rome was lost, and eventually the victory of Christianity made the sacrifice on the Capitol obsolete.[16]

The Romans did not reflect much on such change, and there is a general lack of theoretical comments on triumph. At least Varro, when trying to explain the etymology of *triumphare*, says that in triumph the soldiers return with their commander and march through the city to the Capitol.[17] The *Synagoge*, a Byzantine encyclopedia of the ninth century, defines triumph, in an unfortunately mutilated entry, as "display of victory, parade, appear gravely."[18] The two statements are separated by more than eight hundred years. Nevertheless, they largely coincide, apart from the fact that in the Middle Ages there is no longer any mention of the Capitol. The victorious, public procession was the essential thing.

Let us return for a moment to Belisarius' Vandalic triumph of 534. On the occasion of this event Procopius reflects on the historical change of the triumph:

> Belisarius, upon reaching Constantinople with Gelimer and the Vandals, was counted worthy to receive such honors, as in former times were

(2017) and Bassett (2017); on the coins Mittag (2017). Wreath and triumphal robe: Alföldi (1970) 137–140, 143–156; Beard (2007) 275–277; Meister (2017).

16 For the Augustan caesura see Itgenshorst (2017). Lundgreen (2014, 28) highlights the difference between the Republican triumph—"an honour conferred by peers"—and that of the emperor. On civil wars see McCormick (1990) 81–83; Lange (2013, 2012); Wienand (2015). On the loosening of the bond to Rome since the third century see Ando (2017). The flexibility of the triumph ritual over the centuries is also emphasized by Wienand, 173–176.

17 Varro *Ling*. 6.68: *sic triumphare appellatum, quod cum imperatore milites redeuntes clamitant per urbem in Capitolium eunti '⟨i⟩o triumphe.'*

18 *Synagoge* Θ 111 (= *Suda* Θ 494): θρίαμβος· ἐπίδειξις νίκης, πομπή. καὶ τὸ σεμνύνεσθαι […]. Extensive, but too much in love with detail and all too erroneous is Isid. *Etym*. 18.2.

> assigned to those commanders of the Romans who had won the greatest and most noteworthy victories. And a period of about six hundred years had now passed since anyone had attained these honors, except, indeed, Titus and Trajan, and such other emperors as had led armies against some barbarian nation and had been victorious. For Belisarius displayed the spoils and slaves from the war in the midst of the city and led a procession which the Romans call a "triumph," not, however, in the old manner, but going on foot from his own house to the Hippodrome and then again from the starting line until he reached the place where the imperial throne is.[19]

In the first lines it seems as if the Republic had returned. After centuries, again someone who is not emperor triumphs. But Procopius allows the illusion to linger only briefly. Belisarius does not move through the city in a quadriga, not even on horseback, but on foot—until he prostrates himself before Justinian's throne. Nevertheless, Belisarius' victory celebration is for Procopius a triumph, although not "in the old manner." The identity of the victor, whether commander or emperor, is not the point either. After all, the celebrations of Titus and Trajan are triumphs as well.

It was other elements which remained unchanged. They formed the triumph's "core brand":

- Returning home: The victor arrived in the capital or residence city.
- Movement: The triumph was performed as a procession through the city. A stationary celebration in the Hippodrome was no triumph.
- Public: As many people from all walks of life as possible should watch. This was another reason why movement was indispensable. Victory celebrations in the palace, in which the elites remained among themselves, did not constitute a triumph.[20]
- Victory: A concrete military success over a concrete enemy was celebrated, not a potential achievement or an inherent quality of the commander. Time

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19 Procop. *Bell.* 4.9.1–3: Βελισάριος δὲ ἅμα Γελίμερί τε καὶ Βανδίλοις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος γερῶν ἠξιώθη, ἃ δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοίς τοῖς νίκας τὰς μεγίστας καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίας ἀναδησαμένοις διετετάχατο. χρόνος δὲ ἀμφὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑξακόσιους παρῳχήκει ἤδη ἐξ ὅτου ἐς ταῦτα τὰ γέρα οὐδεὶς ἐληλύθει, ὅτι μὴ Τίτος τε καὶ Τραϊανὸς, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι αὐτοκράτορες στρατηγήσαντες ἐπί τι βαρβαρικὸν ἔθνος ἐνίκησαν. τά τε γὰρ λάφυρα ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀνδράποδα ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐπόμπευσεν, ὃν δὴ θρίαμβον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαίοι, οὐ τῷ παλαιῷ μέντοι τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ πεζῇ βαδίζων ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὑτοῦ ἄχρι ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον κἀνταῦθα ἐκ βαλβίδων αὖθις ἕως εἰς τὸν χῶρον ἀφίκετο, οὗ δὴ ὁ θρόνος ὁ βασίλειός ἐστιν. The translation follows Dewing.

20 Two such celebrations are attested under Justinian: Procop. *Bell.* 7.1.1–3 (540); Theophanes Confessor a. m. 6044 (p. 228 de Boor) (552).

elapsed since the success did not matter. Even in the Republic, years often lay between battle and triumph. But the events on the battlefield had to be remembered, by means of pictures, by the presence of participating soldiers, by carrying along captured enemies, or by displaying the booty.

Thus, a triumph was a procession of the returning victor through and before the whole city. Its function was to reintegrate into the community the soldiers who had departed to serve by explicitly acknowledging their achievements.[21] A less restrictive definition would correspond to the loose usage today as well as in the ancient world, which equates "triumph" with "victory celebration" or even "success."[22] However, this would not help in the precise description of the ritual and its contents over the centuries. In fact, the various celebration rituals can be distinguished from one another not only in an ideal-typical way, but also in practice (if the sources allow for it, of course).

4 What Was Not a Triumph?

Many a ritual looked like a triumph. We just have to keep reading Procopius. After the description of Belisarius' return, to the surprise of the modern reader, he reports that the commander was allowed to celebrate a triumph in the old manner a little later, referring to the procession of the new consul, Belisarius, when he assumed office. Prisoners of war from the Vandalic campaign carried him through the streets on his curule chair, and Belisarius threw gold and silver objects from the Vandalic booty to the populace (Procop. *Bell.* 4.9.15–16). Belisarius still did not ride in the triumphal chariot, but at least he did not have to walk. The spoils that he had apparently not given to the onlookers during the procession to the Hippodrome were now generously distributed. But this did not result in a triumph, because Belisarius had long since returned

21 On this point, already decisive in the Republic, see Itgenshorst (2005) 210–211.

22 For the use in the figurative sense see *OLD* 1979 s. v. triumpho 4–5; 1979 s. v. triumphus 3–4; Forcellini, Furlanetto, Corradini and Perin (1887) 811–812 s. v. triumpho A 2 u. B 2; Lampe (1968) 654–655 s. v. θριαμβεύω A; 655 s. v. θρίαμβος 1. See also Theophanes Confessor a. m. 5982 (p. 134 de Boor). In the Middle Byzantine period at the latest, θριαμβεύω, even when it came to the celebration of imperial successes, no longer necessarily meant a parade through the streets, and certainly not one of the emperor: Nicephorus *Breviarium* 66 (on Constantine V's actions against the usurper Artabasdus): Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ ἀπόμοιραν εἰς δίωξιν αὐτοῦ ἐκπέμψας αὐτόν τε χειροῦται, καὶ σὺν τοῖς υἱέσιν αὐτοῦ δεσμώτας ἐπὶ ἀγῶνος ἱππικοῦ ἕλκων θριαμβεύει ἐκεῖθεν τε ἐν εἱρκτῇ τηρεῖσθαι ἀσφαλῶς παραδέδωκεν; 83; Theophanes Confessor a. m. 6074 (p. 251–252); 6080 (p. 262); 6257 (p. 438); 6276 (p. 457). See also Reiske (1830) 717; Börm (2013) 84; Ando (2017) 414.

home. The celebration was no longer about victory, but about taking office. Procopius can nevertheless claim that it was because this ritual had already integrated elements of the triumph since the first century. The consul wore the triumphal robe and held the victory scepter in his hand.[23] If an office-holder at this occasion was able to conjure up the glory of an actual victory, it is at least understandable why such a procession could have had the effect of a kind of triumph on all participants, including the spectators. The most important victory ritual of the Romans was not only commemorated in various media such as arches and coins or transformed into permanent imperial victoriousness, it also influenced the performance of other public rituals.

An actual victory ritual was the stationary celebration in the Hippodrome. Such a spectacle in the circus, with chariot races and a presentation of booty and prisoners, had already concluded some triumphs in the fourth and early fifth centuries.[24] Later, on several occasions, it was preceded by a procession of prisoners through the city. In 498, the rebels Longinus and Indes were led through the streets in chains "in the manner of a triumph" and then, in the Hippodrome, forced at the feet of the emperor Anastasius. However, the first part was no longer a triumphal procession but a parade of shame without a commander or emperor. In the same way, the severed heads of dead enemies were carried through Constantinople.[25] It was just the next stage to dispense with the processions and move such parades entirely to the Hippodrome. Celebrations in the circus had been a ritual in their own right for a long time, on the occasion of a victory message or to mark imperial accomplishments outside the capitals.[26] Therefore, a pattern lay ready for Constantinople, the city which its master no longer entered as a victor at the frontiers.

McCormick's "imperial victory celebrations" include the *adventus* and liturgical processions.[27] *Adventus* is what the Romans called the ceremonial entry of

23 See Beard (2007) 277–280, 320; Mommsen (1887) 414–416; Meslin (1970) 53–61; Sguaitamatti (2012) 26–29, 140.

24 Cf. only Claud. *Hon. VI Cos.* 611–639 on Honorius' triumph of 403. See McCormick (1990) 36–37, 46.

25 Evagrius *Hist. Eccl.* 3.35: θριάμβου δίκην; Marcellin. chron. II p. 95 Mommsen; Priscian. *De laude Anastasii* 171–173. Already in 468, the head of the Hunnic king Dengizich was paraded along the Mese (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 598 Dindorf).

26 See McCormick (1990) 36–39, 41, 43, 45–46.

27 McCormick (1990) 35–79, under the headline: "Out of the streets and into the circus: the development of imperial victory celebrations in the later Roman empire." As the title makes clear, McCormick thoroughly separates the celebration in the circus from the movement rituals—with great profit for the analysis.

the emperor into a city.[28] For many scholars, not just McCormick, the *adventus* and the triumph had been basically the same since the fourth century, which some attribute to the omission of the sacrifice.[29] Carsten Hjort Lange, as far as I can see, has been the first to pass criticism.[30] He sees the defining feature of the triumph in the presentation of the spoils, but as I have argued above, this element should be defined more broadly: as celebration of a military victory. The *adventus*, however, marked only the arrival of the emperor. On such an occasion he could be acclaimed as triumphator,[31] but this was nothing unusual. The victoriousness of the Augustus was routinely emphasized. Therefore, not every reference to victory can be sufficient evidence to identify the corresponding event as a celebration of a specific success or even as a triumph.

Even greater is the distance to another form of ceremonial movement in the city, the processions. These represented a central Christian piety practice, which only became an important state and imperial ritual with the rise of the new religion. Processions took place for supplication and thanksgiving, for celebration and mourning. They always led to God. There were many occasions for processions, such as major church holidays, translations of relics, natural phenomena, catastrophes such as comets or fires—and the annual remembrance of the induction of relics, the ash rain, the earthquake.[32] The emperor fre-

28 For *adventus* in general, see Dufraigne (1994) 41–74, 181–221, 249–268; MacCormack (1981) 15–89; Lehnen (1997); Pfeilschifter (2013) 334–335.

29 McCormick (1990) 16 with n. 22, 42 n. 30, 67 (*adventus* of 559 a triumph), 90; Dufraigne (1994) 74–83, 89–90 with n. 260; Beard (2007) 324; MacCormack (1972) 726: "The empire gradually became Christian, and no subsequent emperors performed the sacrifice to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. Thus, the emperor's victorious arrival, formerly triumph, was assimilated into the *adventus* ceremonial." Fraschetti (1999, 47–63, 243–258) considers a Christian triumph, precisely because of the omission of the sacrifice, to be a contradiction in terms. From Constantine's entry in 312 onward, therefore, there had only been *adventus*, even if pagan Roman aristocrats wanted to make people believe otherwise. MacCormack (1981, 55–56, 73, 80) blurs the differences in another way. She divides *adventus* into two phases: the actual entry and "the coexistence between emperor and subjects" (55). She adds almost every presence of the emperor in the city to this latter category, and so for MacCormack even Justinian's Vandalic triumph becomes an *adventus*.

30 Lange (2012) 32, 41, 45: "Distinguishing between the triumph and the *adventus* is by no means simple, but it does not appear to be right to say that the distinction became virtually elided" (45).

31 For example, during the entry of Justinian into Constantinople in August 559: Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus *Tres Tractatus De Expeditionibus Militaribus Imperatoris* p. 138–140 Haldon (p. 497–498 Reiske). For historical context, see Stein (1949) 536–540, 818–819; Pfeilschifter (2013) 63–64.

32 Evidence for processions in Constantinople: Baldovin (1987) 182–189; Maraval (1985) 93–101; Croke (1981) 125 n. 19.

quently took part in public processions and the corresponding church services. In pious community with his fellow Christians, the monarch was able to demonstrate his orthodoxy for all to see. Thus, processions bridged the distance between the emperor and the people and contributed significantly to identification with the existing order and integration into it. Sometimes the emperor even abstained from wearing his insignia and walked barefoot or dressed like an ordinary subject.[33]

This was the exact opposite of the entry of a successful commander. The triumph was not about humility, but about lifting the victor as far as possible out of the mass of ordinary people. Therefore, it would be unnecessary to discuss the processions any further if they had not taken place also on the occasion of military successes. After a minor victory in 513 over the rebellious commander Vitalianus, the emperor Anastasius went in procession to the holy places; afterwards he gave games.[34] We are well-informed about the reaction of Theodosius II, when in 425, during the chariot races, he learned about the victory of his army over the Western Emperor John. The emperor announced the news to the people and urged them to abandon pleasure and thank God together. The games were indeed forgotten, and a procession was formed while still in the Hippodrome. The singing participants moved along with the emperor and arrived at a church where Theodosius and his subjects spent the rest of the day in prayer. The fact that the emperor spontaneously called for a joint procession and that the people complied without further ado indicates that such behavior was not unusual, in fact it was probably the rule (Socrates *Hist. Eccl.* 7.23.11–12).[35] Such a procession had nothing to do with a triumph; a message of victory had arrived, not the victorious army itself. But one thing is evident in such processions to churches undertaken in gratitude for a victory: Christian rituals could be combined with military success, and without great difficulty. Christianity neither demanded the abolition of wars nor forbade the joy about their successful completion. The war had only to be fought with the correct faith, and thanks had to be given to the right God.

33 For the participation of the emperor see Diefenbach (1996) 43–52, (2002) 24–31; Martin (1997) 54–55; Meier (2003) 489–502. A list of the processions in Constantinople in which the emperor participated can be found in Pfeilschifter (2013) 339 n. 89.

34 Ioannes Antiochenus *frg.* 311 Roberto.

35 It was only a slight variation when, in 593, a victory message prompted Maurice to spend the entire night praying in Hagia Sophia and, on the next day, to lead a supplication procession for further success (Theophylactus Simocates *Historiae* 6.8.8; Theophanes Confessor a. m. 6080 [p. 262 de Boor]).

5 Humility and Humiliation

We may assume that such a connection also existed for the triumph, only the other way around, in the sense that the pagan-imperial ritual was supplemented with Christian elements. But that was not so. Why not? Actually, it was not so simple to substitute pagan characteristics with Christian references. One important reason for the quick rise of the new religion during the fourth century was that bishops and priests basically accepted Greco-Roman culture as it was and only pushed for the removal of clearly pagan connotations. The public festivals are a good example for this process.[36] The so-called Brytae, in which dancing and pantomime were prominent, were stripped of their pagan elements and continued to be celebrated until the end of the fifth century, as pure entertainment without any religious references.[37] The Brytae had been "neutralized" and had thus become acceptable to Christians, just as the triumph had become acceptable since it no longer ended at the temple of Iuppiter. In other words, the triumph evolved into a profane, not a Christian ritual. Change was not pushed forward. No services were integrated, no priests imparted blessings, the sign of the cross did not find a prominent place. The ritual still did not really fit in with the new faith.

Let us return one last time to the Vandalic triumph of 534. Procopius does not talk much about Christianity in his work, but here he inserts two anecdotes, both of which evoke the distance between Christianity and the spectacle of Belisarius' triumph. A Jewish man takes offence at the fact that among the booty are the treasures from Solomon's Temple. He requests that the treasures be returned to Jerusalem since only to this end had Geiseric captured the palace in Rome and Belisarius that of the Vandals. When the Christian emperor hears about this, he "becomes afraid," thus adopting the constructed causality.

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36 This process was more complex than I can outline here. Emperors and officials, anticipating public unrest, rarely forbade festivals completely. They were usually satisfied when the sacrifices stopped. Bishops, priests, and ascetics reacted differently, from approving this line to enforcing much stricter measures. An instructive sketch of Augustine's changing attitude towards "secular" festivals gives Markus (1990) 107–121.

37 For this interpretation I draw on the MA Thesis of Kreisel (2014) 84–88. The fact that the Brytae were severely curtailed by Anastasius had to do with their popularity: On two occasions in 499/500 and 501, the circus factions in Constantinople resorted to violence, which the city prefect could not control (Ioannes Antiochenus *frg.* 309 Roberto; Malalas 16 p. 322 Thurn; Marcellin. chron. II p. 95 Mommsen; *Suda* M 47; see Meier [2009b] 162–163). This would not have been possible if the Brytae had been a religious festival which was only attended by the few remaining pagans of Constantinople. The overwhelming majority of the visitors were Christians seeking entertainment. Religious differences did not play a role in the confrontations. See also Greatrex and Watt (1999), esp. 20–21.

Instead of bringing the sacred objects into his own palace as planned, Justinian has them hastily sent to the churches of Jerusalem.[38]

Immediately after this story Procopius shifts to present the most distinguished prisoner. When king Gelimer enters the Hippodrome and sees the emperor in his lofty seat, with the people on either side, he realizes the full extent of his misfortune. But Gelimer controls his emotions and recites over and over again a passage from the Bible, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." The defeated king of the Vandals does not only refer to the reversal of his own fate. Several chapters earlier, Procopius had drawn Gelimer as a man who, in view of his deep fall, has nothing but laughter left for the things of men. And so "Vanity of vanities" targets no less the power of Justinian, the cheers of the people, and the fleetingness of the entire scenario. The fact that the quotation does not come from the philosophical tradition of the Greeks, but from the (Solomonic!) *Ecclesiastes* makes clear once again the reservations of Christianity regarding the imperial spectacle.[39]

It is no coincidence that this criticism was attached to the presentation of booty and defeated enemies. This was an arrogant display of superiority, based on ephemeral commodities such as money and, even worse, on the humiliation of other people, most of whom were Christians. With all the Church's efforts to adapt, it is hard to imagine how booty and prisoners of war could have been brought into visible accordance with Christian norms. Should the gold and art objects have been piled up in Hagia Sophia? Should Gelimer have been pushed to the ground in front of the altar? Should the *triumphator* even have paused before the Eucharist, following the pagan custom, until news came that the overthrown king had been strangled?

None of this was conceivable in the Christian Empire. The offense lay less in the exercise of violence; the world had not become more humane in this respect.[40] Usurpers were often executed. Usually this happened, as already in the Republic, in the dungeon, away from the jeering crowd. Emperor John first

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38 Procop. *Bell.* 4.9.5–9: ἔδεισε (9).

39 Procop. *Bell.* 4.9.10–11: ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων, τὰ πάντα ματαιότης (11) (= *Eccl.* 1.2). Laughter of Gelimer: 4.7.14–15. Christians in antiquity did not dispute the Solomonic authorship of *Ecclesiastes*. See Schwienhorst-Schönberger (2004) 123–132.

40 Gladiator fights were often criticized by Christian writers—see only Tert. *De Spect.* 12.1–4; 19.1–4; 20.5; 21.3–4; 23.8; 25.4—but more because of their brutalizing effect on the spectators than because of the violence itself. There were also other reasons for their disappearance in the fifth century. Meanwhile, beast hunts and even the sentencing of criminals *ad bestias* enjoyed great popularity at least until the late sixth century (Theophylactus Simocates *Historiae* 3.8.7–8; 6.10.18). See Ville (1960) 271, 290–292, 294–297, 313–335; Wiedemann (2001) 149–162; Meier (2009a) 203–209, 224–228; Guilland (1966) 290–292.

lost a hand in 425, later he was beheaded, but the intervening part of his martyrdom took place in public. The mutilated ex-emperor was led around in a parade of shame in the circus of Aquileia, sitting on a donkey.[41] The triumphal procession was no different. Honorius, probably in the year 416, had the toppled emperor Attalus, according to old custom, run in front of his triumphal chariot, but then, presumably in the circus, he put his foot on his neck. After the ceremony Attalus lost two fingers of his right hand but kept his life.[42] Gelimer, more an external enemy than a rebel, got off even more lightly and ended his days well provided for at an estate in Asia Minor. But he too was humiliated in front of everyone, had to fall into the dust and probably also suffered the *calcatio colli*.[43] This custom, an innovation of late antiquity, was not meant to hurt the enemy physically, but it humiliated him more than an execution far away from the public eye could have done.[44] Precisely because the violence was only symbolic, the demonstration of human arrogance became more obvious. Christians should be pious, and the mighty among them, especially the emperor, demonstrated this most strikingly through humility. The opposite of humility is humiliation. Therefore, the triumph could not be christianized.

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41 Procop. *Bell.* 3.3.9.

42 Prosper chron. I p. 458 Mommsen; Philostorgius 12.5; Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus *Hist. Eccl.* 13.35 (PG 146,1044d); Olympiodorus *frg.* 14 Blockley; Oros. *Hist.* 7.42.9; Marcellin. chron. II p. 71 Mommsen. See McCormick (1990) 56–58. Only Nicephorus describes the *calcatio*, after which he immediately mentions the mutilation (also otherwise testified). He does not say if this maiming also took place in public. There is a philological argument against it: The text of Philostorgius, Nicephorus' principal source in this sequence, reports the preparation of the *calcatio* then breaks off and, after a lacuna of about 75 letters, starts again with the mutilation, see Bidez (1981) xx–xxi, 144. Without doubt, in the gap the *calcatio* itself was described, but this is unlikely to have covered 75 letters. Nicephorus needs only a few words for this (including preparation). Even considering that his narrative is a little shorter, the most economical solution is that Philostorgius reported in the rest of the lacuna a transfer of Attalus to another place. The sequence of events points in the same direction. Since the *calcatio* must have been the climax of the public humiliation, it would have to be expected that Attalus had already been mutilated before—if the disfigurement happened in the circus. Probably Attalus' fingers were later cut off in prison before he was taken into exile. Contra Wienand (2015) 170, 195. Ando (2017, 411 with n. 46) considers public mutilation possible but tends to the contrary view.

43 Börm (2013, 68–69) suggests convincingly that Gelimer also had to suffer a *calcatio colli*. For further cases from the fifth and sixth centuries, see Croke (2008) 450–452.

44 Gagé (1933, 379) already expressed uneasiness regarding the *calcatio*: "Rien assurément de moins 'chrétien' que le geste insultant par lequel l'empereur pose son talon sur la nuque des vaincus, tandis qu'éclatent les hymnes."

6 Conclusion: The Late-Antique Triumph without Christianity

My main concern in this article was to show that not every victory celebration was a triumph. The ancient terms can be a dangerous guide. Likewise, superficial similarities in external sequence may be an incentive to blur the differences between rituals that actually served separate functions. However, a mutual borrowing of elements does not constitute sufficient ground to assume some kind of ritual amalgam. In an *adventus* the emperor entered a city, but the occasion was, as the name suggests, merely his arrival. There was nothing which was triumphed over. Prisoners and booty were missing. Processions of thanksgiving could well be performed to mark military victories, but they took place at the mere news of a won battle. Naturally, the commander and the army were not yet present, and the procession was not a return to the city, but a movement within the city. *Adventus* and procession, like the triumph, served to reassure the community of its identity, but that is a banal statement regarding public rituals. What set the triumph apart from other rituals, what gave it a unique feature, was a more specific function. The soldiers who had left (not only the commander) received thanks and recognition for their service to the *res publica*. In this way they were reintegrated into the community.

Victory, returning home, movement, and the public were the indispensable elements of a triumphal procession. All of them together, but only them. The triumph certainly could be adapted to a transcendent world order by supplementing religious elements, but this connection was not constitutive. Therefore, in the fourth century, the pagan sacrifice fell away without harm to the societal function. The triumph continued to exist as a secular ritual. This also happened with some pagan festivals, so this was not at all unusual. Christians did not, as far as we know, criticize this worldly ritual. This was because triumphs took place far less frequently than the often-attacked chariot races and gladiator fights. Besides, any expression of reservation could easily have been interpreted as criticism of the respective emperor.

Triumphs became even rarer after the fourth century. This was caused by factors that had nothing to do with religion. The Empire lost its undisputed hegemony over the Mediterranean world, and so there were simply fewer opportunities to triumph. At the same time most emperors stopped personal campaigning in the field. Commander and ruler became different persons. But hardly any emperor could bring himself to let someone else triumph. This person might one day become a usurper. As a result, the stationary celebration in the Hippodrome became more important; an unmoving emperor, who hardly ever left his capital, celebrated a victory best in an immobile

setting. Justinian's confident generosity in granting the Vandalic triumph did not reverse the trend.

The Hippodrome celebration reached the peak of its popularity only in the Byzantine period. However, it did not completely supersede the triumph. As soon as the fundamental conditions changed and an emperor like Constantine V again won battles himself, the triumphal entry into Constantinople regained its meaning.[45] The triumph became christianized only in the ninth century, through a new conception of *adventus*. In any case, *adventus* had been the closest to triumph in its external sequence. The elements that had previously prevented Christian adaptation, namely prisoners and booty, were disconnected from the entry of the victor by being presented in a separate, slightly earlier parade. This made it possible to combine the already christianized *adventus* with a military victory.[46] Only now was there happening what some scholars assume already for the fourth century: triumph and *adventus* coincided.

John in 546 had already christianized his triumph in a similar way, only his solution found no imitators. Booty and prisoners did not enter the church. Women and children were displayed outside while John and his soldiers prayed.[47] And the unspecified thanksgiving gift that John had laid down at the altar did not come from booty. Apart from the camels, none of it was carried along: John had promised the booty in full to the soldiers, and they had surely sold their share as soon as possible. The gift will have consisted of bread and wine.[48] So only at the very end did the Christian element emerge. John

45 Triumph of 763: Theophanes Confessor a. m. 6254 (p. 433 de Boor); Nicephorus *Breviarium* 76. Triumph of 772: Theophanes Confessor a. m. 6265 (p. 447). See Rochow (1991) 179–181, (1994) 95–96, 100; McCormick (1990) 135–136.

46 Theophilus celebrated a triumph/*adventus* in 831 or 837, Basilius I in 878, both after victories over the Arabs: Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus *Tres Tractatus De Expeditionibus Militaribus Imperatoris* p. 140–150 Haldon (p. 498–507 Reiske). The other sources summarize only shortly and thus give an at least misleading picture, especially Symeon Magister et Logothetes *Chronicon* 130.24 Wahlgren, when he says of Theophilus: τὰ λάφυρα ἐθριάμβευσεν. Theophilus: Theophanes Continuatus 3.23 Featherstone/Signes Codoñer. Basilius: *Vita Basilii* 49 Ševčenko. On these triumphs see, in addition to Haldon's excellent commentary, McCormick (1990) 146–150, 154–157.

47 Gorippus *Iohannis* 6.97–98: *horribiles vultus parvis ostendere natis / dum patres matresque libet, sic limina templi* [...]

48 Gorippus *Iohannis* 5.408–416; 6.7–8. McCormick (1989, 169) thinks of the booty ("quite possibly"). Shea (1973, 121) and Andres (1997, 158) consider the possibilities of booty and bread/wine, but Shea picks the second alternative while Andres makes no choice. All authors disregard the fact that no booty was brought along.

respected the conventions of late antiquity. In this most innovative of all late Roman triumphs one rule was still observed: humility was not defiled by humiliation.

The triumph was one of the most enduring rituals in world history. It was already celebrated in early Rome and retained its central position through to late antiquity. This was made possible by a concept that consisted of a few concise elements. Thus, the triumph always remained recognizable as a triumph, whatever else was changed. It could end at the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, on the Alban Mount or in Justinian's Hippodrome. The triumph even survived the fall of Rome and became an important *lieu de mémoire* of Western culture, up to the great cinematic recreations in *The Fall of the Roman Empire* and, of course, *Ben-Hur*.[49] The makers of these films were able to create a convincing triumph because they knew well what normative expectations of their viewers they had to meet.[50]

The sacrifice on the Capitol did not belong in this category. Although the ritual had been fully integrated into the pagan world, it retained its status in the Christian world. No doubt the religious neutralization took away some distinctiveness, but it was not primarily because of this that its frequency decreased after the fourth century. Instead of simply disappearing, this secular triumph was celebrated over at least four hundred years, from Constantine I to Constantine V. This is a remarkable testimony to the fact that in the Later Roman Empire by no means every act in public life was evaluated according to its position before God. Rome had existed before the Christ, and so it was capable of celebrating its successes in a pre-Christian manner for a very long time.

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49 *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, directed by Anthony Mann, USA 1964, 79th–84th min.

50 Garrett Fagan was no fan of Charlton Heston, but this was for political reasons. He loved the cinema, and he loved spectacle. Therefore, this article may be a fitting tribute for him. I have written it in fond remembrance of not a few weekends Garrett and I spent talking, drinking, hanging around, and watching movies.

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PART 3

People in Roman Society

CHAPTER 9

Taking the Plunge: A Twenty-First-Century Look at Roman Bathing Culture

Dylan K. Rogers

> In the premises of Cominius Montanus and
> Cominius Felicianus Junior and Cominius Felicianus, their father,
> is the bath, and every refinement in the manner of the City is on offer!
>
> *AE* 1933.49, Lecourbe, Numidia[1]

Garrett Fagan's watershed monograph, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (1999), appeared at a time ripe for new inquiry into the role of bathing in Roman society. Traditionally overlooked, Roman baths began to receive serious scholarly attention as a building type in the 1980s and early 1990s with the publication of several important architectural studies and conferences.[2] Selecting a novel and broader approach, Fagan's monograph focused on the sociocultural context of public Roman baths that were found in urban settings primarily in the Latin West. Fagan used a variety of evidence to construct his narrative of the importance of bathing in Roman society. Chief among these sources were ancient literary sources (especially in his captivating opening chapter, "A Visit to the Baths with Martial"), inscriptions, and archaeological evidence (mostly focusing on the public baths of Pompeii). The themes that Fagan discussed include: the development of Roman bathing; popularity of Roman baths; medicine and hygiene; public benefactions; daily life. In addition to challenging our conceptions of Roman bathing in general, his "Epigraphic

1 Trans. Fagan (1999), Appendix C, no. 256. *in his praediis Cominiorum | Montani et Feliciani Iun(ioris) | et Feliciani patris eorum, | balneu[m et] omnis humani|tas urbico more praebetur!*

2 Nielsen (1990) and Yegül (1992) are influential architectural treatises of Roman baths that are still useful today; DeLaine and Johnston (1999) is the conference proceedings of the First International Conference on Roman Baths that took place in Bath (England) in 1992, in which Fagan himself was a participant.

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Sample," which explores a large sample of inscriptions that document bath benefaction in Italy and the Latin West in the form of a series of appendices in the volume, is a monumental work in its own right. The immediate reception by those in the field of Roman water studies was positive, given the work's immersive inquiry into such unexplored territory.[3]

A great deal of scholarship has occurred since the initial publication of Fagan's seminal work in 1999. In the following pages, we will examine how scholarship has evolved since Fagan's plunge into the study of baths in Roman society. First, we will explore archaeological evidence of Roman baths discovered or published after 1999, especially those in contexts outside of the public, urban one discussed by Fagan. Second, we will survey the development of themes that Fagan pursued in 1999 in order to appreciate his impact on our understanding of the relationship between bathing and Roman society. Then, we will briefly review scholarship on bathing after the Romans, especially in the late-antique period, and the reception of Roman baths into the modern period. Finally, we will close with the contextualization of bathing culture in Roman society. The ensuing discussion is not meant to be an exhaustive review of the available bibliography of Roman bathing to-date; rather, the intent is to explore the breadth of scholarship on Roman baths since Fagan's 1999 work in order to illustrate his crucial impact on the field.[4]

1 Into the Deep End: The Archaeology of Baths Today

To say that scholarship on Roman baths is extensive is an understatement. After the increased attention to these structures in the 1980s and 1990s, along with Fagan's monograph in 1999, archaeological investigations in particular have grown exponentially, drastically altering our conceptions of Roman bathing. The following section will provide an overview of these activities and publications after 1999, focusing on research venues, new sites and regions of archaeological excavations of baths, the development of the Roman bath form, and

3 See the reviews of Bruun (2002); Rodgers (2002); Koloski-Ostrow (2004). Bruun offers a positive but critical review. Of particular interest is his critique (464–465) of Fagan's initial comparison and discussion of Roman baths to modern Finnish saunas. Bruun, himself a Finn, takes issue that modern Finnish saunas are generally private affairs, not public ones, as Fagan suggests.

4 The present article is not meant to replicate the bibliography produced by Manderscheid (2004) of sources from 1988–2001, which was itself a book-length monograph. For a brief historiography of Roman bathing, see Rogers (2018) 31–39.

new avenues of inquiry by archaeologists. In particular, this overview will illustrate the ubiquity of Roman bathing, especially in the far-flung reaches of the Roman empire, where the construction of baths and the act of bathing tied into expressions of identity.

1.1 *Bathing-Related Research Groups & Conference Proceedings*

Over the last few decades, there has been a marked increase in conferences that feature papers on newly discovered baths or new interpretations of bathing complexes. At the forefront are the conferences related to the German societies that study of the use of water in the past, namely the Deutsche Wasserhistorische Gesellschaft and the Frontinus Gesellschaft, whose members include academics, engineers, and interested laypersons.[5] One can easily consult the publications of either organization, especially the series, *Cura Aquarum*, which brings to light many new baths throughout its volumes; in the same vein, the Frontinus Gesellschaft has produced a number of important conference proceedings that also highlight new baths throughout the empire.[6] A similar group of interest is the International Sauna Association, initially started by Finns and Germans, but whose membership now includes nationals of over twenty countries. These groups can provide scholars of ancient bathing interesting modern parallels to consider when studying the past.[7]

Further, a number of research clusters that focus specifically on bathing or baths have developed. In terms of regional studies of Roman bathing, the Balnéorient research group is an important organization related to eastern baths, an often-neglected data set in the field. Started in 2006 through the French Agence Nationale de la Recherche, the multidisciplinary research team studies *balneia*, *thermae*, and hammams of the eastern Mediterranean and Arabian Peninsula from antiquity to today, usually through large-scale conferences.[8] Next, the Topoi Excellence Cluster, "Bathing Culture and the Development of Urban Space: Case Study Pompeii," active from 2015 to 2019, was a fresh inves-

5 On the history and complicated relationship of these two organizations and their publications, along with other water-related groups, see Rogers (2018) 20–22.

6 In particular, see Kreiner and Letzner (2012) on ancient baths, along with Wiplinger (2013, 2016) and Wiplinger and Letzner (2017).

7 See in particular an overview of the study of saunas as a new academic field by Tsonis (2016), which outlines the health science, history and culture, and technology and design of saunas.

8 Conferences coming out of Balnéorient include two on Egypt (Boussac et al. 2009; Redon 2017), along with the monumental four-volume Boussac et al. (2014), which documents baths of the Near East, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, and beyond, providing new discoveries, architectural and technical studies, etc. See also Balnéorient's website: https://balneorient.hypotheses.org.

tigation into the impact bathing complexes had on urban design and development.[9] Led by Domenico Esposito, Christoph Rummel, and Monika Trümper, the team has carried out excavations in Pompeii on the Stabian Baths and the Republican Baths—and has begun to alter the chronologies of Republican-era buildings of Pompeii, especially in the development of the Roman bath type.[10] Similarly, a conference was held in 2013 in Luxembourg that explored the complicated relationship of baths, urban spaces, and society.[11] Finally, a number of collaborations have occurred at Padova University on thermal waters of the Italian peninsula, along with the built environment around these waters, which often included bath complexes.[12]

1.2 *New Contexts & Syntheses, and Expanded Geographical Inquiries*

Following Fagan, there has only been one further synthesis of Roman bathing, Fikret Yegül's 2010 monograph, *Bathing in the Roman World*. Picking up on the themes of Fagan's own work, Yegül continues the discussion of the customs, rituals, and activities associated with public Roman bathing. In addition to exploring the culture surrounding bathing in the Roman world, Yegül brings in numerous architectural studies from both the Roman East and West, thus pushing past Fagan's relatively limited archaeological data set in his 1999 work. He also explores bathing after the Romans, providing an important trajectory of bathing culture over time.[13] Of particular interest in Yegül's monograph are his reasons for the popularity of Roman baths, namely the pleasure they bring, along with the hygienic, social, and economic benefits they provide. Indeed, he asserts that "the civilized setting of the Roman city was essentially one in which physical, social, and mental pleasures—the sensual awareness that forms the very core of our existence—were sought after, welcomed, savored, and shared."[14]

Fagan's monograph focused primarily on bathing in public contexts in urban spaces of the Latin West. While he had to concentrate on a manageable set of evidence, it is apparent that inquiry into baths in nearly all contexts of

9 For more on the impact of flowing water in urban spaces from antiquity to the Medieval period, see most recently Chiarenza et al. (2020).

10 Trümper et al. (2019). See also the group's website, especially for previous bibliography and annual field reports: https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/klassarch/forschung/projekte/pompeji/index.html.

11 Pösche et al. (2018). See Binsfeld et al. (2018) in that volume on their approach to the conference.

12 Bassani et al. (2011, 2012, 2013); Annibaletto et al. (2014).

13 See also Maréchal (2020, 223–224) on the development of the hammam after the Romans.

14 Yegül (2010) 6–10.

the Roman world has grown dramatically. New studies provide evidence of where bathing took place in the Roman world and how it affected all parts of Roman society—not just in traditional urban centers, but military camps, rural areas, private structures, and sanctuaries. Baths in military camps, for example, present important evidence about the relationship between local populations and soldiers.[15] Louise Revell, analyzing the architecture of military baths in Britain, has shown that legionary baths incorporated luxurious open spaces used for leisurely activities, while auxiliary baths only had simple features for cleaning—which suggests there were differences between citizen legionary soldiers and the mostly non-citizen auxiliary forces, complicating any assertion that the Roman army was a homogenous group.[16] There has also been a marked increase in the study of private baths throughout the Roman world, such as baths in imperial palaces and villas.[17] Inge Uytterhoeven has presented the evidence of private baths of Asia Minor, which suggests those structures adopted Italian-style bath complexes, illustrating the architectural and cultural influence of the Romans in the East.[18]

Over the past two decades, countless publications of new baths have appeared, in addition to important regional catalogues and syntheses of known baths. There has been a great deal of activity on public baths of the Italian peninsula in particular. The imperial *thermae* of Rome have received special attention recently.[19] The Baths of Agrippa have been re-studied and situated in the development of large-scale Roman bath buildings, a novelty after the Republican period.[20] The decorative program of the Baths of Caracalla has been reconstructed and analyzed through new theoretical frameworks, further illustrating issues of dynastic legitimacy and imperial largess.[21] The Baths of Diocletian have also been restudied, not only providing new discoveries related to the ancient structure, but also its subsequent transformation into the church

15 See Kolbeck (2018) 4, on how local population in Britain helped construct some bathhouses through brick stamps; see Sommer (2018) on the relationship between military camps and urban centers. For the reaches of Roman military baths, see Morillo Cerdán et al. (2018) for examples in southeast Spain and Darby (2015) on an example from Jordan.

16 Revell (2007).

17 Martini (2014).

18 Uytterhoeven (2011) 322. Asia Minor is a unique test case for the adoption of the Italian-style bath type, especially given the preexisting Greek bathing structures there (discussed below). See also Casagrande Cicci (2014) on other examples of this phenomenon in southern Anatolia.

19 See DeLaine (2017) for an overview of gardens in baths and *palaestrae*, along with a synthesis of garden-related decoration found in bath complexes.

20 Kontokosta (2019).

21 Gensheimer (2018). See also Jenewein (2008). For a synthesis of the baths, see Pira-

of Santa Maria degli Angeli.[22] Recently, a full-scale publication of thirty-five relatively understudied public bathing complexes of the Italian peninsula has appeared, providing scholars with an easily accessible synthesis of these structures, along with essays on typologies, thermal technologies, and the implications of these structures for the study of Roman baths.[23] The trend to publish catalogues of known bath structures outside of the Italian peninsula has also continued unabated, including Gaul, Lusitania, Dacia, and Moesia Superior.[24]

The bathing complexes of the Roman East have also begun to be studied and published more frequently, providing crucial new data to add to our understanding of the ubiquity and importance of Roman baths across the empire. The study and publication of the baths within the area of modern Greece has had a renaissance and floruit, although not many catalogues have appeared.[25] Baths at sites in Attica (Athens and Rafina), the Peloponnese (Argos, Corinth, Epidauros, Isthmia), Crete (Chersonissos, Gortyn), and northern Greece (Dion, Macedonia), and at Eretria and Delos, have recently been published, in addition to numerous others (Fig. 9.1).[26] Moving farther east, as mentioned above, the Balnéorient research group has brought together the baths of Egypt, the Near East, and the Arabian Peninsula, in addition to country-specific publications, such as on Jordan, Palestine, and Syria.[27] Further, specific bath com-

nomonte (2012). For a reconstruction of the baths, with interesting insight into the use of window glass, see Oetelaar (2014).

22 Friggeri and Magnani Cianetti (2014).

23 Medri and Pizzo (2019). In the volume, see DeLaine's stimulating conclusions about the future of the study of Roman baths.

24 On Gaul, see Bouet (2003a, 2003b); on Lusitania, Reis (2004); for Dacia and its 16 *balnea* and 4 *thermae*, Tentea and Burkhardt (2017); on Moesia Superior and its 40 baths, Novović et al. (2019).

25 The notable exception is the catalogue of the Roman and late-antique baths of Macedonia by Oulkeroglou (2018). Roman Greece in general has also seen greater attention in scholarship in the past decade. For example, see the essays in Di Napoli et al. (2018).

26 Athens has seen numerous archaeological discoveries in the city center, especially with the construction of the Athens Metropolitan Railway in the 1990s and early 2000s and the Acropolis Museum in the 2000s. On baths discovered in these projects respectively, see: Parlama and Stampolidis (2001) 132–147; Eleftheratou (2019) 142–161. One can also consult the ever-growing *Topografia di Atene*, a systematic presentation of the monuments of ancient Athens: Greco et al. (2010–2015). On the other sites, see: Rafina: Katakis and Nikolopoulos (2018); Argos: Sarri (2014); Corinth: Biers (2003); Epidauros: Trümper (2014); Isthmia: Frey and Gregory (2018); Chersonissos: Grigoropoulos et al. (2008); Gortyn: Bejor et al. (2016); Dion: Oulkeroglou (2017); Macedonia: Oulkeroglou (2018); Delos: Bouet and La Quéré (2015–2016); Eretria: Theurillat et al. (2018).

27 Boussac et al. (2009, 2014); Redon (2017). Jordan: Boussac and Fournet (2015); Palestine: Hoss (2004); Syria: Fournet (2012). A bathing complex was recently discovered at Doliche

FIGURE 9.1 Fourth-sixth century baths on Amalias Avenue, Athens, Greece. Found during the excavations for the Athens Metropolitan Railway
PHOTO: © GEORGE E. KORONAIOS, WIKIPEDIA COMMONS/CC-BY-SA 4.0

plexes are being presented in a number of locations, such as Baalbek, Gerasa, and Palmyra.[28] A catalogue of baths in North Africa appeared in 2003; subsequently scholars are re-examining some of these structures more in-depth, such as in Libya.[29] Despite the fact that many of the locations in question in the Roman East were arid places, there was still a desire and need to construct these quintessentially Roman structures.[30] As will be discussed below,

(modern Dülük, Turkey), formerly in the Roman province of Syria: Blömer et al. (2019, especially 108–114).

28 See the following: Baalbek: Brünenberg (2018); Gerasa: Lepaon (2012); Palmyra: Tabaczek (2017).

29 Thébart (2003). On the baths of Libya, see Maréchal (2013).

30 Water sustainability in this region has become an important avenue of inquiry, especially with the influx of water-related structures in the Roman period. Richards (2012, 173–176) demonstrates, for example, that numerous fountains of the Roman East had limited water flow (thus conserving water), despite the often-grand baroque façades of these structures. See Rogers (2018, 61–63), on regional trends of water usage throughout the empire.

by studying these baths (especially paying attention to other regional trends in construction and benefaction), new insights into Roman identity at the micro- and macro-levels begin to emerge.

1.3 *Development of the Roman Bath Type & Bathing Style*

Over the last twenty years, our understanding of the canonical Roman bath type and bathing style has developed remarkably. The study of Greek baths in particular has blossomed, with new syntheses of archaeological evidence appearing on Greek bathing structures. There are at least seventy-five known public baths, seventeen baths connected to athletic facilities (*gymnasia*/*palaestrae*), domestic baths, and others.[31] The main purpose of the Greek bath structure was to provide a space for users to cleanse themselves (unlike the relaxing aspect of Roman baths). Public baths (*balaneia*) often contained hip-baths (made out of masonry or terracotta) that permitted individuals to wash themselves while seated, in addition to *louteria* (pedestal basins) that allowed for cleaning while standing; baths are characterized by at least one or two rooms, one which is often circular to allow for a maximum number of hip-bathtubs to flank the walls of the room.[32] Greek bath structures are found all over the Greek world, including in Magna Graecia and on Sicily, where some examples have evidence of early experimental heating technologies and architectural forms.[33] These examples have in turn prompted discussion about the transition from Greek-style bath complexes to their more distinct Roman counterparts.

A number of issues arise when considering the relationship between Roman baths and Greek baths—especially regarding form and development of the *gymnasium*. The Greek *gymnasium* was a place for nude athletic exercise, which in Magna Graecia and Sicily could include hip-baths or *louteria*. Over time, however, under the Romans, the *gymnasium* was incorporated into private villas in the latter part of the Republic (as were other elements of Greek houses and life), and, in turn, the *gymnasium* developed into the *palaestra* that accompanied bathing complexes.[34] While *gymnasia* were seen as a marker of Hellenism, their transformation into part of the canonical Roman bath type changed their meaning for the Romans over time—in effect not becoming a marker of Greek culture, but changing into a marker of Roman civilization,

31 In particular, see Lucore and Trümper (2013); Wassenhoven (2012).

32 Lucore (2016) 330–331. See also Theurillat et al. (2018) on the transition from the Hellenistic *loutron* to the Roman *thermae* of Eretria (Greece).

33 Lucore (2016) 331–334.

34 Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 169–190.

and a complicated issue for scholars today.[35] And in the Roman East during the Empire, the pre-existing Greek bathing style still persisted, but changed over time, especially with the advent of larger water infrastructure systems. For example, it has been shown at sites such as Oinoanda that, after the Romans made Lycia a province in 43 CE, the traditional *gymnasium* was replaced by Roman style bathhouses, embraced wholeheartedly by the local populations.[36]

Roman baths were probably the product of numerous cultural influences, developing out of the rich confluence of different ethnicities inhabiting Campania and Latium in the middle to late Republic. Previous discussions have posited that Roman baths derived from the region of Campania, especially with the various groups of people there (e.g., Etruscans, central Italic peoples, Romans, Greeks) and the (limited) archaeological evidence.[37] For a number of years, scholars attributed the invention of the canonical hypocaust (or raised floor-hollow wall) heating system of Roman baths to Sergius Orata in Campania around 90–80 BCE, based on a passage of Pliny the Elder; however, this has since been disproven with a number of archaeological discoveries and re-examinations of the passage in Pliny.[38] Yegül has suggested that in addition to the innovations in Greek baths, rural farm houses of the central Italian peninsula began to incorporate heat-related bathing practices (with stoves or stove-boilers) that allowed for healthy sweating, which in turn developed into the canonical bathing sequence of Roman baths.[39] One of the earliest

35 Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 188–189.

36 Milner (2016). The study of *gymnasia* and baths in Asia Minor is still evolving: Yegül (2010) 154–180; Raja (2012) 211–212. See Steksal (2015) on *gymnasia*-baths at Ephesus and Miletus, along with Auinger (2011), and Skaltsa (2019) on Salamis (Cyprus). It has also been asserted that some of these complexes had a central room devoted to the imperial cult, the so-called Kaisersaal; but the interpretation of these grand rooms with sculpture of the imperial family as places of ritual has been called into question by Burrell (2006). When the Imperial Baths of Sagalassos were excavated between 2007–2012, colossal statues of the imperial family were uncovered in a large central room—and the theory of the Kaisersaal was believed to be supported. Subsequent analysis by the excavation team concludes the statues were moved to the baths after 400 CE, and thus in a period when the imperial cult was not active. For the statues, Mägele (2013); on the structure in late antiquity, see Waelkens (2013).

37 Fagan (1999) 43–44, (2001). The latter article is still an important overview of the origins of Roman baths, but with the new excavations at Fregellae, it has been superseded by subsequent work discussed below.

38 Plin. *HN* 9.168. On the debate, Yegül (2013a) 27–28. Fagan (1996) argued that the phrase in question to indicate hypocausts (*pensiles balineae*) were in fact fishponds of some sort, not "hanging baths." On the business life of Orata, see Bannon (2014).

39 Yegül (2013a) 25.

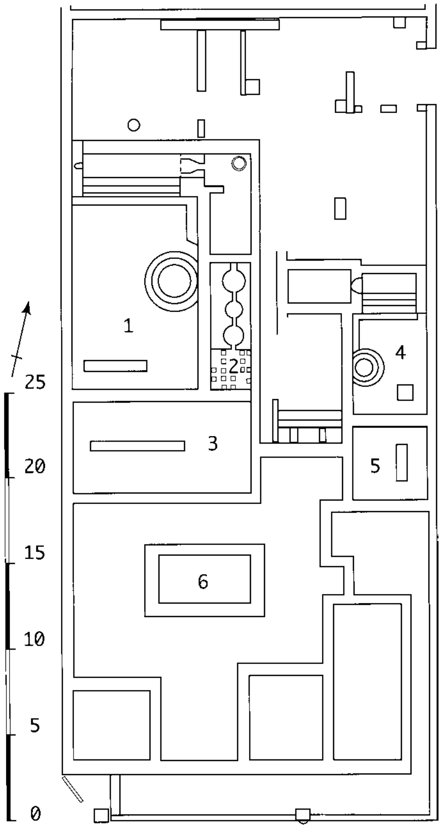

FIGURE 9.2
Fregellae Baths, schematic plan of Phase II (first half of the second century BCE): *caldarium*, with *alvei* (1); furnace and hypocaust (2); vaulted *apodyterium* (3); *caldarium*, with *alvei* (4); *apodyterium* (5); *atrium*/peristyle (6). Baths are divided into men's quarters (1–3) and women's quarters (4–5).
AFTER TSIOLIS 2013, FIG. 2

known examples of a Roman bath is the second building phase of a structure at Fregellae, a Latin colony in Latium, which dates to the second century BCE (Fig. 9.2).[40] In this example, there are presumed to be separate spaces for men and women, rational organization of space, a large central furnace, a hypocaust system, and *alvei* (communal heated pools). The hypocaust system allows for heat to circulate beneath the floor, which is elevated by a series of small pillars made of square or circular bricks. The organization of the space into a rational order, perhaps influenced by other examples on the Italian peninsula, led to the tripartite division of early Roman baths: *apodyterium* (changing room), *tepidarium* (warm room), and *caldarium* (hot room).[41]

40 Tsiolis (2008, 2013); Yegül (2010) 52–58, (2013a, 2013b).
41 Tsiolis (2013) 104–108.

The early development of Roman baths is easy to discern in the Bay of Naples region, with its well-preserved bath complexes, such as the Stabian Baths at Pompeii. In the second and first centuries BCE, in conjunction with newly developed technological advances in heating, the canonical "single-axis row type" of Roman bath prompted patrons to progress from warm to hot rooms, the *tepidarium* (warm room) to the *caldarium* (hot room), in addition to the sweating rooms (*sudatoria*), and often culminated in a plunge in the cold water pools of the *frigidarium*.[42] This particular bathing arrangement quickly spread beyond the Bay of Naples, and it can be seen throughout the Roman world. Other spatial arrangements developed over time, including the "half-axial type" (a series of rooms that do not follow a strict axis of progression) and the symmetrical imperial baths of Rome (the series of rooms were replicated on a main central axis that provided bilateral symmetry).[43] What is important in this discussion is how the heating technologies that developed during the second and first centuries BCE were a product of different cultures coming together, and it is difficult to pinpoint exactly where one took over from the other.[44] It is clear that over the course of these two centuries, new migrations into the city of Rome, especially from the rural areas of Campania and Latium, where these heating technologies were being developed, provided the urban center with technological inspiration that would culminate in the novel Baths of Agrippa, which, in turn, would spur future Roman innovation in bath construction.[45]

1.4 *New Laps to Take: Construction, Science, & Small Finds*

In addition to the remains of baths coming to light, scholars have also turned their attention to new avenues of inquiry surrounding baths, especially in studies examining architectural and construction techniques, using scientific analyses, and exploring often overlooked small finds. With these new methodologies, we can begin to unlock now forgotten insights into Roman economy, society, and identity.

Building off of the crucial study of the design and construction of the Baths of Caracalla by Janet DeLaine in 1997, more scholars have examined the construction techniques of Roman baths in greater depth, in order to understand the impact of innovative architectural forms on Roman society and culture,

42 Yegül (2010) 51–58.

43 Yegül (1992) 80–91.

44 Yegül (2013b) 85–86.

45 See in particular Kontokosta (2019) 48. See also Maréchal (2015) on the relationship between the appearance of the term *lavacrum* in Latin texts in the second century CE and the development of Roman baths.

especially in bathing complexes. Lynne Lancaster has been at the forefront of these studies, as she provides intricate analyses of not only canonical concrete vaulting of the city of Rome, but also in novel vaulting forms that developed outside the imperial capital.[46] Her work on concrete vaulting has shaped our understanding of the development of this architectural form, not only from a technological perspective, but also from a social and cultural one. She has demonstrated how experimentation in concrete vaults, particularly in baths, paved the way for ground-breaking superstructures, which continued to grow larger to the delight of the residents and visitors of Rome.[47] Her subsequent study of innovative vaulting techniques is a crucial look at how "local builders and craftsmen [acted] as agents of innovation" throughout the empire (including Egypt, Britain, France, and Greece).[48] The picture that begins to emerge is one in which local populations subscribe to building typical Roman structures, while at the same time changing and adapting these traditional Roman architectural forms to local habits—thus illustrating new forms of identity expression throughout the empire. Paolo Vitti, in the same vein, has also explored innovations in vaulting techniques on the Peloponnese of Greece, providing one of the most exhaustive studies of Roman architecture there to-date.[49] Further, other scholars have examined the physical makeup of Roman baths (such as the analysis of lime and mortar), in order to understand how the construction of a bathing complex progressed over time in locations outside of Italy.[50]

Scientific analyses of baths and other water-related structures over the last decade have also begun to change our conceptions of Roman water usage, especially in light of technological and hydrological issues in antiquity. The analysis of water deposits (namely through the calcium carbonate, or sinter, left behind by flowing water in channels) can provide much information for researchers. For example, it has been shown that water stopped flowing to the Baths of Caracalla in Rome between 776 and the early tenth century CE, in addition to knowing that the water at that time was coming from the Alban Hills, perhaps through the Aquae Julia, Tepula, or Alexandrina.[51] Further, there have been a

46 Lancaster (2005, 2015).

47 In particular, see her discussion of the social and cultural impact of concrete vaulting in Rome: Lancaster (2005) 172–181.

48 Lancaster (2015) 192. The new vaulting techniques include vaulting tubes, hollow voussoirs, and so-called "armchair" voussoirs, which she defines and illustrates throughout the volume. See also Lancaster (2012).

49 Vitti (2016). See also Kelly (2013) on the bathhouses of Roman Crete.

50 For example, see Guyard et al. (2008) for the Gallo-Roman baths at Vieil-Evreux (Eure).

51 Hostetter (2011). Scientific analyses of water deposits in a number of other water-related structures in the Roman world have continued to increase, such as Passchier et al. (2016).

number of different experiments by scholars to understand exactly how floor and wall heating systems actually functioned.[52] In 1998, this type of experimentation was brought to a popular audience, when a team of scholars and specialists, led by Yegül, reconstructed a fully functioning Roman bath at Sardis, Turkey.[53] The team's goal was to reconstruct a whole bath complex, including the thermal mechanisms of the heating system. The reconstructed bath was later used by another team that employed computational fluid dynamics to determine how heat passed through the complex, especially through doorways.[54] Other interdisciplinary approaches to the archaeological evidence have employed modern engineering models to understand better how Roman baths functioned. For example, Ismini Miliaresis has studied the Forum Baths of Ostia in terms of the fuel required for operating the baths. She has determined that 150 trees would need to be harvested, transported, and stored for the baths to run efficiently for an entire year.[55] Future studies along similar lines will surely yield better understandings of the complexities of Roman baths.

Finally, a new generation of scholars have also begun to examine in earnest small finds of baths to evaluate the use of space. Stefanie Hoss, in particular, has made the case for the re-examination of small finds in baths, especially as these artifacts are either often overlooked, or not examined and published properly—paying particular attention to questions of the final deposition of objects in baths.[56] Alyssa Whitmore has analyzed assemblages of needles, spindle whorls, loom weights, and other cloth working instruments, which point to sewing, spinning, and weaving in bathing establishments.[57] She interprets these finds as evidence for the presence of craftsmen, servants, and slaves, who would not otherwise fit into the archaeological record of baths. By closely examining and re-examining previously excavated materials, we can then continue to tell the stories of actual people using these baths in antiquity, as Fagan had done using primarily literary and epigraphic evidence.[58]

Such studies also fit well into innovative work now being done on climate change in antiquity, especially towards the latter part of the Roman Empire; for example, see Marx et al. (2018).

52 For an extensive bibliography, see Yegül et al. (2003) 154, n. 5; see also Grassmann (2011) on hypocausts and *tubuli*.

53 Yegül et al. (2003). Fagan (2000) also participated in this documentary as a commentator and the bather; see his bibliography and Lendon, in this volume.

54 Oetelaar et al. (2014).

55 Miliaresis (2019). See also the earlier work of Blyth (1999).

56 Hoss (2018).

57 Whitmore (2016). See also Whitmore (2018).

58 For example, see Fagan's analysis of whether slaves used baths: (1999) 200–206.

2 Themes Swirling around Bathing

Fagan's 1999 monograph brought a number of issues related to Roman society through the study of Roman baths to the forefront of discussions in modern scholarship. By using bathing as a case-study for various social and cultural behaviors, Fagan successfully shed light on arguably one of the most important aspects of daily life in the Roman Empire. Since its publication, conversations about various themes covered in the book have continued to grow and evolve over time. Here, we will briefly examine gender and sexuality, hygiene and protection against evil in the baths, and healing and religious elements of Roman bathing establishments. With attention being paid to these issues by scholars, we can begin to elucidate better how Roman society writ large functioned on a day-to-day basis.

2.1 *Gender and Sexuality*

By examining the decoration and in particular the layout of Roman baths, we can come to a better understanding of social relations between the sexes in antiquity. A perennial question in bath studies has been centered on nudity of both men and women using the baths themselves. Fagan himself argued that nudity in the baths was in part an equalizing social force, in which individuals were literally stripped down, no matter their rank or class, and were seen at the most basic level in the baths, albeit markers of status could still remain (e.g., jewelry or large retinues to protect the elite from those of lower status).[59] Over time, we have come to accept that men and women could have bathed together nude, although that could depend on regional or chronological variabilities, such as baths allotting certain times in the day for specific genders.[60] Singular nude women are shown on wall paintings from a *balneum* on the Esquiline Hill in Rome (near Piazza dei Cinquecento), and now on display at Palazzo Massimo.[61] While this cannot be used as definite proof of women bathing in baths, it certainly is suggestive. Molly Pasco-Pranger has recently raised questions about female nudity in the early Empire, especially in the baths. Asserting that women could in fact be nude, she argues that this challenges our notions of the prim and proper matron—nude in the baths, drawing attention and the gazes of others to herself through jewelry and her surrounding retinue—thus

59 Fagan (1999) 214–215.

60 Fagan (1999) 24–29; Yegül (2010) 27–34. Until the early Empire, a number of Republican baths had separate gendered spaces, and by the Empire, mixed bathing became an acceptable norm in Roman bathing culture: Yegül (2010) 32–33.

61 On these paintings, see Gasparri and Paris (2013) 430–432; Yegül (2010) 28–31.

altering our conceptions of the prudish Victorian sensibilities that have often permeated scholarship on female nudity in the Roman world, especially of elite women.[62]

Roman baths were sexualized spaces for both men and women. Wall paintings in Roman baths of nude figures and those engaging in sexual acts have raised a number of questions about sex in the baths. Literary and epigraphic evidence suggests that individuals indeed engaged in sexual activity in the baths, and perhaps even prostitution.[63] One of the most famous scenes of sex in any Roman baths is arguably in the *apodyterium* of the Suburban Baths of Pompeii. While the paintings in question were covered over before the eruption of 79, the changing room originally had a series of eight vignettes of sexual activity that corresponded to lockers below.[64] The different scenes run from mild to wild sex for a Roman's eyes, ranging from simple male-female couples, men performing cunnilingus, to a foursome with two men and two women (Fig. 9.3). These are daring scenes that challenge our notions of "proper" sex in the Roman period, especially given ancient literature admonishing most of the sexual behavior depicted in this bath. John Clarke has argued persuasively that these scenes, which would have been seen by those of lower social status in the baths of both genders, were not meant to serve as instructional aides or advertisements for services—but were to make people laugh, a common occurrence in Roman baths.[65]

Roman baths can also provide insight into male sexual behavior, especially between men. A. Asa Eger has offered a queer reading of Roman bathhouses, in which the Roman bath can become an "architecture of desire," presenting a space where sexual encounters can occur between older and younger men.[66] Comparing the architecture of the bath-gymnasium of Sardis, with its progression of increasingly smaller rooms that would have become hotter and steamier (and thus dulling the senses), to a modern gay bathhouse in Chicago, Eger makes the case that the Roman bath could potentially include subversive spaces for male-to-male sexual encounters that were not always favored in Roman society. Decoration in Roman baths also had the potential to illustrate homoerotic tensions. For example, Villa Hakanen has recently argued that the

62 Pasco-Pranger (2019), especially 223–230. See her bibliography for more on female nudity, dress, and adornment. On the Roman gaze, see Fredrick (2002). On depictions of nude women bathing in the Greek world, see Stähli (2013).

63 Fagan (1999) 34–36; Yegül (2010) 30–32.

64 Clarke (1998) 212–240, (2002), (2007) 194–204; Ormand (2018) 310–315.

65 Clarke (1998) 239–240. On laughter in Roman visual culture, see Clarke (2007).

66 Eger (2007).

FIGURE 9.3 Kneeling man performing cunnilingus on a seated woman. Scene from the *apodyterium* of the Suburban Baths, Pompeii
PHOTO: WOLFGANG RIEGER, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

stucco decoration of the *tepidarium* of the Forum Baths of Pompeii included masculine *telamones* of the Republican phase of the complex and homoerotic depictions of Ganymede in the vault added in the years before the eruption—providing a space with two conflicting conceptions of masculinity, perhaps suggestive of changes between the Republic and the Empire.[67]

2.2 *Hygiene, Protection, & Magic*

Fagan challenged our notions of the hygiene of the Roman bath in 1999. While bathing in the Roman world certainly was good for collective hygiene, Fagan demonstrated that baths could be places that were significantly dirtier than we today would imagine, such as the fact that thousands of patrons could use the imperial *thermae* of Rome using the same water in their large pools, or that the walls and floors were covered in γλοιός, the mixture of oil, sweat, and dirt they strigilated off of themselves.[68] Indeed, the work of Ann Koloski-Ostrow has investigated the archaeological and literary evidence of Roman sanitation, which corroborates Fagan's narrative.[69] Other investigations have demonstrated how, despite the fact that Roman hygienic standards were not the same as ours, there were still mechanisms in place to improve hygiene in Roman baths, such as the inclusion of toilets in these complexes.[70]

Roman baths, though, were thought to be dangerous places, whether because of hygienic reasons or interactions with other bath-goers. For example, there is evidence for violence occasionally breaking out in bathhouses, which could make some fearful of spending time in them.[71] Indeed, Roman baths were full of means of protection against any evils that could appear therein.[72] Thus, baths were often decorated with divinities associated with safety, including Fortuna, Hygeia, Apolausis (Enjoyment), and Soteria (Healing).[73] There were also a number of images that probably acted as apotropaic images in the baths, eliciting laughter from patrons to prevent any evils, ranging from macrophallic

67 Hakanen (2020).
68 Fagan (1999) 179–188.
69 Koloski-Ostrow (2015). See also Rogers (2018) 39–46, for an overview of Roman hygiene and sanitation.
70 Van Vaerenbergh (2011).
71 Fagan (2016) 240–242.
72 Kamash (2008) argues that one of the reasons behind the need for protection in the baths is the multifaceted nature of water—namely water can give life, but also take it away. Cf. Fabiano (2011).
73 On Fortuna, especially in the toilets of baths, see Koloski-Ostrow (2015) 113–114, and Rogers (2020) 13. On the other divinities, see Kamash (2008) 227–229.

Aethiopians to humorous pygmies.[74] Tangible evidence for protection in the baths also comes in the form of *defixiones* that have been found in some bathhouses, demonstrated through a number of examples in Britain.[75] There were even Jewish prayers for protection in the baths that were popular in the Roman period.[76] With all of this in mind, we need to continue to consider the complexities of Roman bathing establishments on the day-to-day level that can be lost to time—namely that Romans, despite their love of baths, still felt the need to protect themselves against evils that might be lurking within.

2.3 *Healing & Religion*

Roman baths were places for healing; ancient writers discuss widely the medical and curative properties of going to the baths.[77] In addition to using fresh water, Roman baths were also found attached to naturally occurring thermal waters, which were prized for their curative qualities and often connected to deities that provided healing.[78] Often known as spas (sometimes attributed to an abbreviation of *sanitas per aquam*, "health through water"), bathing sites connected to healing waters were popular throughout the Roman world, such as Baiae on the Bay of Naples, Bath (Aquae Sulis) in England, in the area of modern Tunisia, and the recently discovered Allianoi in Turkey.[79] And there were hundreds more of these minero-medicinal sites throughout the Roman world, which could be religious in nature (especially in thanks for healing), but also complex, as many often operated as resorts, with great water sources and structures to exploit the waters, lodgings for pilgrims, etc.[80] Many of these sites were simply called *Aquae* with an added qualifier (to differentiate one *Aquae* from others), such as the locality's name, the site's founder, its divine connec-

74 Clarke (2007) 74–81.

75 Alfayé (2016).

76 Eliav (2009), (2010) 618–620.

77 Fagan (1999) 85–103, (2006). See also Köhler (2016).

78 The ensuing discussion of bathhouses using thermal waters was outside of the scope of Fagan's study. See Rogers (2018) 37–38, for an overview of these sources.

79 Baiae: Medri (2013); Guérin-Beauvois (2015) 103–187; Nieberle (2016); Popkin (2018). Bath (most recently): La Trobe-Bateman and Niblett (2016); Cousins (2020). Tunisia: Allen (2001). Allianoi: Yegül (2010) 50–51; Çekirge and Gürdal (2011).

80 The best overview of these sites is González Soutelo (2019), who provides a substantial bibliography of the subject, along with a catalogue of sites. See also Guérin-Beauvois and Martin (2007) and Guérin-Beauvois (2015) on the social and cultural aspects of these thermal complexes in Italy, along with: Bassani et al. (2011, 2012, 2013); Annibaletto et al. (2014). See Dvorjetski (2007) on medicine and spa culture in the eastern Mediterranean, from the Hellenistic to early Islamic periods.

tions, and/or a *cognomen*.[81] We can understand the popularity of these sites in antiquity perhaps by the fact that many of them are still used today, especially on the Italian peninsula, where people still use the same thermal sources for healing.[82]

Outside of Greco-Roman religious practices related to Roman bathing, it is important to mention the increased discussions of Jewish thought and practice in relation to Roman baths. Only mentioned in passing in Fagan's 1999 monograph, scholars now argue that there was not open hostility of the Jewish peoples of Palestine against Roman baths.[83] Indeed, it seems that rabbinical sources indicate that even rabbis used Roman baths, particularly as it would have allowed them to interact with individuals outside of their own social circles (a common practice in the rest of the Roman world)—and there seems to be mixed bathing in Palestine, going against previously held thoughts about bathing culture in the region.[84] Hoss, in particular, has demonstrated three phases of bathing culture in Roman Palestine: (1) bathing privately (mid-second century BCE to 70 CE); (2) public bathing (70–180); (3) flourishing bathing culture (180–324).[85] Indeed, other studies show that in the Roman East, local populations were prone to adopt certain elements of Roman water infrastructure systems over others, perhaps due to local beliefs or practices. For example, Zena Kamash has demonstrated that baths in the region were adopted more quickly than fountains and toilets.[86] Such investigations are beginning to provide more nuanced understandings of the mix of cultures of the Roman world, especially in how, despite ideological or religious differences, Roman bathing culture had an impact on those cultures or ethnic groups.

81 See for example Pérex and Rodríguez Morales (2011).

82 For example, see the site of Acqui in Italy, which has been used since antiquity: Martini (2010).

83 Spencer (1998) 58–72; Eliav (2000, 2010); Hoss (2004, 2012). On bathing in the earlier Hasmonean period, see Fatkin (2019).

84 Eliav (2010) 615–617.

85 Hoss (2004) 89–96. See also her appendix on the *miqveh* (or Jewish immersion pool) in Palestine, 97–113, along with Lawrence (2006) on ritual bathing in the region.

86 Kamash (2012) 88–89.

3 Splashing About after the Romans

Although Fagan concentrated on Roman bathing in the Roman Empire, the study of the impact of this institution after the Romans has subsequently grown dramatically.[87] In the late-antique period (third-seventh centuries CE), bathing throughout the former Roman Empire persisted unabated, but on different scales based on location, with a general decrease in local benefactions of new baths seen across the board. In the West, baths continued to be used and rebuilt, but historical circumstances (such as barbarian invasions and decreased water supplies) could prevent the expansion of bathing on a large-scale.[88] In a manner similar to Fagan, Michal Zytka has recently studied the bathing culture of the eastern half of the Mediterranean, paying particular attention to written sources in late antiquity and exploring the nature of bathing in the region, Christian attitudes towards bathing, and the medicinal benefits of bathing.[89] While not relying heavily on archaeological evidence, Zytka demonstrates that in the East, bathing flourished after the Romans, when patronage of baths was mainly imperial, especially given the great costs of building and maintaining bath complexes in a volatile period.[90] He also demonstrates that Christian attitudes toward bathing are more nuanced than previously thought, as Christians continued to bathe, often interacting with others in the baths (e.g., pagans and Jews), and Christian writers often tied baptism to bathing.[91] Further, most recently, Sadi Maréchal has documented the late-antique bathhouses of Italy, North Africa, and Palestine, providing an extensive gazetteer of these structures.[92] His conclusions about baths in late antiquity demonstrate the continuity of bathing and Roman-style bathing complexes, a subtle rise in the importance of the individual bather (e.g., a decline in *palaestrae*, which allowed for collective exercise), and region-

87 See Yegül (2010) 181–230, for a succinct overview of bathing after the Romans. See Mundell Mango (2015) on the bathing complexes of Constantinople until the Ottoman period.

88 Underwood (2019) 38–69, for an overview of the available evidence of bath complexes used in this period in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and North Africa. See also Lavan (2020) about public space in late antiquity. Maréchal (2016) in a study of semi-private bathhouses in North Africa suggests a shifting paradigm in the region, in which some local euergetism continued, despite its decline throughout the empire.

89 Zytka (2019).

90 Zytka (2019) 63–63, 180–181.

91 Zytka (2019) 74–109.

92 Maréchal (2020). In addition to archaeological evidence, Maréchal also explores relevant written evidence, including literary, legal, epigraphic, and papyrological.

al and local developments in baths based on a variety of socio-cultural and economic reasons.

After antiquity, bathing as a cultural phenomenon continued on the Italian peninsula, at least until the time of the Counter-Reformation. Water infrastructure systems were often restored by Popes after falling into disrepair or becoming victims of destructive events (e.g., invasions), which could then power other water-related structures, such as baths or mills.[93] Public and private bathing throughout the Italian peninsula changed in different places based on a variety of social and cultural forces into the early modern period. For example, it has been demonstrated that in Rome, there was an influx of private bath construction in the early sixteenth century, which tapered off in the years of the Counter-Reformation later in the century, in response to growing moral concerns of outward luxury; at the same time, in Genoa, public baths were going out of favor (due to a fear of the transmission of diseases), thus spurring an increase in private baths.[94]

Finally, the reception of Roman baths has the ability to improve our understanding of archaeological sites and to impact our conceptions of Roman bathing. The architectural drawings of Andrea Palladio in the sixteenth century of the Baths of Agrippa, Nero, Titus, and Constantine in Rome provide us with crucial details about these structures that have been lost to time.[95] By reexamining passing mentions in early travelers' accounts of ancient sites, we can also rediscover archaeological remains that can alter our understandings of how bathing culture evolved, such as with Amanda Kelly's study of fourth-sixth century bathhouses in rural Crete.[96] And new investigations into the rediscovery of Roman baths in Britain in the eighteenth century have shed light on misconceptions about Roman bathing that began at the time, in addition to the impact that these structures had on British bathing in the nineteenth century.[97] The archaeological discoveries of the eighteenth and nineteenth century (especially Pompeii in 1748 and its subsequent excavation) also began to

93 De Francesco (2017) 81–108, who also makes connections between baths and baptisteries. See also Stasolla (2002) on the *balneum* form between late antiquity and the Middle Ages.

94 Hanke (2006) 674–675. On the water structures and systems of Rome during this period, see Rinne (2010); Taylor et al. (2016); Long (2018).

95 Bertotti Scamozzi (2009).

96 Kelly (2014). Using Giuseppe Gerola's early twentieth-century account of the archaeological remains of the island, Kelly shows that the number of bathhouses in rural Crete shifts our conception that bathing was indeed still popular during late antiquity, despite previous studies.

97 Savani (2019).

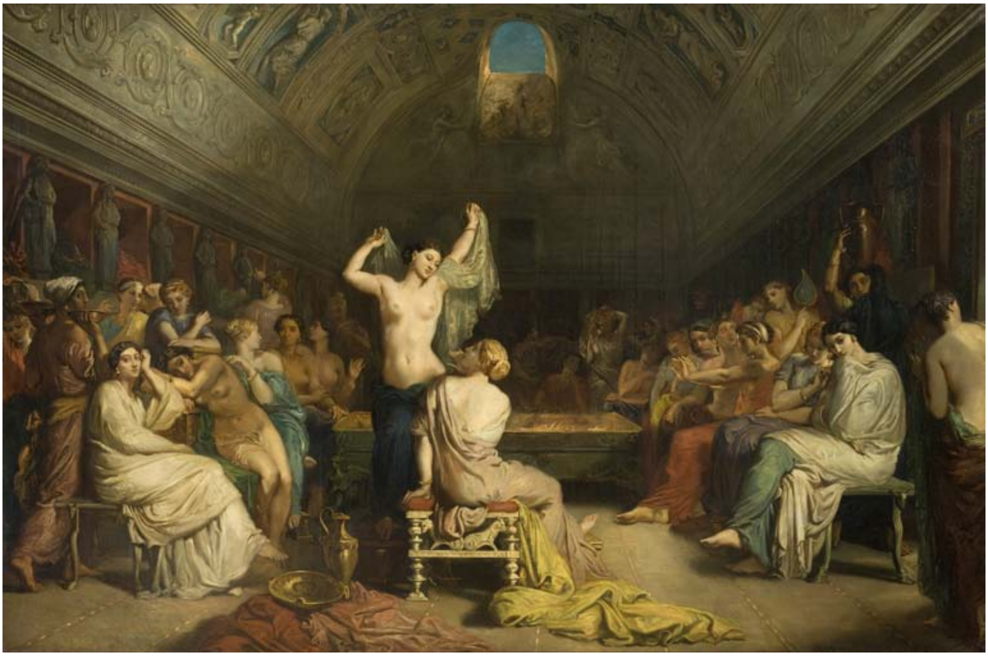

FIGURE 9.4 Théodore Chassériau, *Tepidarium. The room where the women of Pompeii went to dry themselves and to rest after leaving the baths*. 1853. Oil on canvas, 171 × 258 cm. Paris: Musée d'Orsay
PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

fuel artists, a number of whom created spectacular interpretations of Roman baths being used, from Théodore Chassériau's erotically-charged depiction of the *tepidarium* of the Forum Baths of Pompeii in 1853 (Fig. 9.4), to Lawrence Alma-Tadema's numerous and sumptuous illustrations of Roman baths filled with Victorian-era English models.[98] Most recently, the manga series and subsequent films, *Thermae Romae*, tells the story of Lucius, a Roman architect, who repeatedly travels back and forth from second-century Rome to modern Japan, where he witnesses bathing customs there and then incorporates them into his designs for new facilities in ancient Rome.[99] Our fascination with the use and splendor of Roman baths will never cease.

98 On Chassériau, see Betzer (2010); on Alma-Tadema, see Prettlejohn (2002); Querci and De Caro (2007). For more on the reception of Pompeii, especially its baths, see Gardner Coates et al. (2012).

99 The manga series by Yamazaki Mari ran from 2008–2013, with subsequent film adaptations in 2012 and 2014.

4 Toweling Off: Bathing Culture and Roman Society

This overview of the scholarship since Fagan's seminal 1999 monograph not only reinforces many of the themes and evidence that Fagan himself collected, but also calls into question the impact of bathing culture in Roman society. Since Fagan, Roman identity has been studied more in-depth, attempting to understand what it means to be Roman. For the most part, bathing is placed neatly into the category of *Romanitas*, namely that the Roman bathhouse and the culture that developed from it (particularly bathing, social interactions, and the plethora of activities occurring in those spaces) is a hallmark of Roman life throughout the course of the Empire. Indeed, many scholars have made the point that "a visit to the bathhouse proved a potent marker of social identity."[100] Bathing establishments have also been argued, especially in the first two centuries CE, to be part and parcel an integral element of Roman urbanism, "a phenomenon [itself that] produced a culture of bathing."[101] In the undated bath advertisement included at the beginning of this essay, we saw the reach of Roman bathing (and the desire for the refinements of the imperial baths of Rome) in Numidia—far from the center of the empire.

It could be argued, though, that Roman bathing culture was part of a wider network of intersecting modes of cultural expression. Bathing is first and foremost part of Roman water culture, which is based on notions of power, spectacle, aesthetics, and shared experiences.[102] Most importantly for our discussion here, water culture is also predicated on the fact that Roman society was one of consumption and pleasure, which bathing naturally fits well into.[103] Ray Laurence has shown that over the course of the first century CE, a culture of consumption developed in Roman society, with its desire to produce new types of luxury goods and to build new environments to experience pleasure.[104] The growth of the Roman economy in the first two centuries CE provided more goods and technologies that fueled the ability for larger and grander pleasures to be created, and naturally, "Roman society [bought] into a culture of pleasure, in which those who could build, consumed and magnanimously gave money to enable the masses to experience pleasure."[105]

100 Revell (2009) 179. See also Heinze (2012).
101 Laurence et al. (2011) 229. See also Raja (2012) 211–212, on the relationship to baths and urbanism in the Roman East.
102 On defining Roman water culture, see Rogers (2018) 63–87.
103 For more on the intersections of water culture and the cultures of consumption and pleasure, see Rogers (2018) 81–85.
104 Laurence (2009) 158–159.
105 Laurence (2009) 162.

Through various cultural models, Roman bathing fit nicely into a growing empire of different groups of people—all of whom supported the Roman custom of bathing in specifically built establishments, in public and private contexts, urban and extra-urban. But just because a bath complex was built outside the Italian peninsula does not mean that it was built in exactly the same way that they were being constructed in Rome. As alluded to earlier in the work of Lancaster and Vitti, numerous construction techniques were being developed across the empire that capitalized on the abilities, strengths, and innovations of local craftsmen—thus allowing local populations to create bathhouses in the Roman mold, but in ways that only a modern archaeologist can identify as an expression of not only Roman, but also local identity. Besides the novel local construction techniques, communities that were not well watered also had to contend with issues surrounding sustainability—as they had to harvest requisite supplies of water to feed baths and other water-related structures in their urban centers.[106] Roman bathing culture in its various forms captivated an Empire and all levels of its society. The continued study of Roman baths and their impact on people's daily lives continues to evolve—and will continually alter our understandings of Roman culture for many more years to come.[107]

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106 For example, see De Giorgi (2018) on the success of harvesting water in Cosa, Italy, in order to feed the baths there. On the relationship between Roman water culture and climatic conditions across the empire, see Rogers (2018) 61–63.

107 I would like to acknowledge the impact that Garrett Fagan's work has had on my own research on numerous issues related to Roman water. I had the pleasure of having lunch with Garrett in Rome one afternoon in September 2015, when he was serving as Professor-in-Charge at the Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies. I will never forget his warmth and joy, discussing various topics, from Roman baths to life in modern Rome. I want to thank the editors of this volume, especially Lee L. Brice, for allowing me to participate in this project. I also offer my sincere appreciation to Tyler Jo Smith and Carrie Sulosky Weaver, for discussing and reading drafts of this chapter, and Alyssa Whitmore and Stefanie Hoss, for providing me with copies of their own research. All errors remain my own.

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CHAPTER 10

The Linguistic Lure of the Arena in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*

Jonathan Edmondson

In his well-received book, *The Lure of the Arena*, published in 2011, our hugely lamented late colleague Garrett Fagan employed a series of analytical techniques derived from modern social psychology to answer the perplexing question of why so many spectators were drawn to watch gladiatorial combats, wild beast hunts, and public executions staged in the arena on such a regular basis in so many different parts of the Roman world. Crowds, each time they gathered, Fagan argued, developed "affective dispositions" for and against the performers they watched, all in an intoxicating atmosphere of what he terms, borrowing Durkheim's phrase, "collective effervescence," all stimulated by the chanting and cheering of sometimes 50,000 spectators, by the intense rivalries of fans of opposing gladiators, by the physical excitement of betting on particular outcomes, by the increasing theatrics of the performances, and by the overall good cheer (*hilaritas*) that the audience at leisure and play were expected to enjoy.[1] Crowds formed "euphoric positive dispositions" towards star performers and courageous displays in the arena, while "dysphoric negative dispositions" drove spectators to feel and display real hostility towards those criminals who had been condemned to die in the arena and who, in the crowd's view, fully deserved their tormented, spectacular deaths because they had transgressed the norms of the Roman state. As Fagan succinctly puts it, "Spectators got behind particular fighters, felt emotionally synchronized with both the performers and the rest of the audience, and became engaged in the action as the fighters struggled within the confines of a known set of rules to achieve victory."[2] His innovative use of social psychology enabled him to sketch "some contours of the Roman arena crowd's psychological landscape, on the basis of universal mental processes" and to reconstruct "a mental map … of what was going on in the stands" to explain the widespread

1 Fagan (2011); cf. in briefer compass, Fagan (2014, 2016). For another social psychological approach to Roman gladiators, see Barton (1989, 1995).
2 Fagan (2014) 474.

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fanaticism for the bloody spectacles staged in Roman amphitheaters across the Roman Empire.[3]

In this paper, I would like to argue that these vivid events—gladiatorial combats, wild-beast hunts, and executions of criminals, the combination of which came to be termed a *munus iustum atque legitimum* (cf. Suet. *Claud.* 21.4)—had a lasting psychological impact on Romans of all classes, including the elite, and, as a result, spectacles in the amphitheater had a considerable literary influence on Roman writers, who found the arena to be a rich source not just for their choice of language and metaphor, but also for suggesting certain narratological strategies that they deployed to tell their stories. The lure of the arena was not just physical and raw emotional, as Fagan has so well demonstrated, but it was also linguistic and literary, affecting how literate Romans saw, interpreted, and described the world around them. To explore this further, I would like to focus in this paper on Apuleius' mid-second-century novel *The Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass*.

A number of literary critics have noted the importance of gladiatorial imagery and gladiatorial language in works of Latin literature of both the Republican and the Imperial periods. Cicero, for instance, used a number of terms derived from the arena as part of his rhetorical toolkit of invective strategies to attack his opponents in both the law courts and the political arena.[4] "You gladiator, you!" was a tirade of abuse he liked to level at political rivals such as L. Sergius Catilina (*Cat.* 1.29, 2.7, 19, 24) or P. Clodius (*Dom.* 30.81, *Sest.* 41.88, *Har. Resp.* 7.15), but his gladiatorial invective reaches a peak in his polemics against Marcus Antonius and his brother Lucius in the *Philippics*. So M. Antonius is not just "this gladiator" (*Phil.* 6.3: *cum hoc gladiatore*; cf. 3.18, 7.17: *gladiator*), a "most depraved gladiator" (*Phil.* 2.7: *gladiator nequissimus*), a "mindless gladiator" (*Phil.* 5.10: *gladiator amens*; cf. 5.32, referring to the "mindlessness of that criminal gladiator": *scelerati gladiatoris amentiam*; 13.25: *contra crudelissimi gladiatoris amentiam*), or an "out-of-control gladiator" (*Phil.* 13.16: *furiosus gladiator*), "with that sort of gladiatorial solidity of body" (*Phil.* 2.63: *ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate*), a "leader of bandits and gladiators" (*Phil.* 13.20: *latronum et gladiatorum dux*), but also a latter-day Spartacus (13.22) or, in the more florid words of the peroration of the Fourth Philippic, "an assassin, a bandit, and a Spartacus" (4.15: *cum percussore, cum latrone, cum Spartaco*). On no fewer than six occasions, his brother Lucius is castigated as a *myrmillo* or, worse, an "Asiatic *myrmillo*" (*Phil.* 3.31, 6.10, 6.13, 7.17, 12.20, cf. 5.20: *gladiator Asiaticus qui myr-*

3 Fagan (2011) 275.

4 Favory (1981) esp. 156–158, Tableau II: Tableau des énoncés relatifs à la gladiature.

millo … depugnarat). Clearly Cicero was expecting his audience to conjure up images in their minds of depraved, mindless, aggressive gladiators as he hurled these insults at his rivals.

On occasion Cicero could also develop a more elaborate combination of gladiatorial metaphors to intensify the effect, as in his defense of Sex. Roscius Amerinus in 80 BCE.[5] In this speech, he rounds on two of Roscius' relatives with whom his client had had a lengthy feud by trenchantly associating them both with the despised milieu of the Roman arena (Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 17):

> *nam duo isti sunt T. Roscii, quorum alteri Capitoni cognomen est, iste qui adest Magnus vocatur, homines eius modi: alter plurimarum palmarum vetus ac nobilis gladiator habetur, hic autem nuper se ad eum lanistam contulit, quique ante hanc pugnam tiro esset quod sciam, facile ipsum magistrum scelere audaciaque superavit.*
>
> For those two are both called Titus Roscius: one of them has the *cognomen* Capito, the other, who is here present, is called Magnus. They are men of the following type: one of them (Capito) is considered to be a veteran and renowned gladiator, winner of a large number of victory-palms; the latter, however, took himself off to that *lanista* and although he was a man who before this combat (*pugna*) was just a beginner (*tiro*), he easily outstripped this very trainer in terms of his criminal audacity.

The accumulation of six terms all connected to the arena—*gladiator*, *palmae*, *lanista*, *pugna*, *tiro*, and *magister*—transports Cicero's audience mentally to the gladiatorial world and, more specifically, to the *lanista*'s training school, thus intensifying the power of his invective against two of his client's accusers in the lawsuit, who are, by association, equated with the low-life scum of the amphitheater.[6] Even though Capito appears at first to receive praise for being a veteran gladiator with a fine reputation and winner of numerous victory palms in the arena (*plurimarum palmarum vetus ac nobilis gladiator*), the oxymoronic juxtaposition of *nobilis* and *gladiator* gives pauses, and he is then quickly insulted by the mention of his descent to the role of a *lanista* and gladiatorial trainer (*magister*), whose criminal audacity is soon outstripped by his young gladiatorial recruit (*tiro*), the other T. Roscius: T. Roscius Magnus.[7]

5 cf. Imholz (1972).

6 On the world of the *lanista*'s training school, Coleman (2005); Fagan (2015). For a literary evocation, ps.-Quint. *Decl. Maj.* 9.

7 For a useful lexicon of gladiatorial terminology, see Mosci Sassi (1992).

The Roman cultural stereotype of gladiators as frightening, desperate men, mostly slaves, but if freeborn, socially marginalized by the disregard in which their profession was held, liminal figures on the very threshold between civilization and barbarism—on par with pimps, prostitutes, actors, and auctioneers—did much to make them a suitable theme for invective.[8] But the world of the arena was useful for more than just providing ammunition for linguistic polemic. Philip Hardie has shown how Vergil crafted his description of the final combat between Aeneas and Turnus in Book XII of the *Aeneid* partly in terms of a gladiatorial combat.[9] Stephen Hinds has suggested that several scenes in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are given settings that would have evoked the Roman amphitheater in the minds of his readers:[10] in Book V, for instance, Ovid sets the scene of the rape of Proserpina by Dis in a "natural amphitheater" with the "arena" formed by the surrounding circle (*corona*) of trees and with their leaves providing a protective awning (*velum*) from the rays of the sun (*Met.* 5.388–389).[11] In Book XI he makes the setting in which Orpheus meets his violent end resemble an amphitheater, where a stag becomes the prey of dogs "in the morning sand" (*Met.* 11.25–27: *structo utrimque teatro / ceu matutina cervus periturus harena / praeda canum est*), with *matutina … harena* a clear allusion to the *ludi matutini*, the wild-beast hunts that took place in the morning in the fully developed program of amphitheater entertainments.[12] In still more detail, Andrew Feldherr has argued at length for the importance of spectacle for the overall construction of Livy's historical narrative in the first decade of his work: for instance, his treatment of the single combat between T. Manlius Torquatus and a Gallic warrior in Book VII (7.10).[13] He has shown how Livy created particularly vivid visual narratives, using rhetorical *enargeia*, to make his readers feel as though they were spectators at what was taking place—almost active participants in the events. Feldherr also contends that Livy sought to convey the centrality of spectacle in Roman public life by focusing throughout his work on such events as public sacrifices, triumphs, and other public spectacles, all of

8 For the marginal place of the gladiator in Roman cultural discourse, see Edwards (1997).

9 Hardie (1986) 151–154; cf. the comments of Tarrant (2012) ad loc. on Verg. *Aen.* 12.15, 106, 149, 296, 340, 928 and 931–938; cf. Fitch (1987) 338 on gladiatorial language at Sen. *Agam.* 901. For the influence of the gladiatorial arena on first-century CE literary treatments of the protagonists of the Roman civil wars, Jal (1963) 341–343.

10 Hinds (1987) 33–35.

11 For the use of *vela* in theaters and amphitheaters, see Graefe (1979).

12 For *ludi matutini*, see Mosci Sassi (1992) 51–52.

13 Feldherr (1998). Note especially Liv. 7.10.6: *et duo in medio armati spectaculi magis more quam lege belli destituuntur*.

which helped to enhance the authority of Rome's political elite. Finally, in writing his history, Feldherr argues, Livy acted like a sponsor of a memorable set of public games—a kind of *munerarius*—creating a spectacular, visual narrative, which would in itself serve as the lasting *monumentum* for his qualities as a historian, just as *munerarii* sought to stage memorable spectacles that would live on in public memory. In a similar vein, Matthew Leigh has demonstrated how the gladiatorial arena and his readers' experience of watching *munera gladiatoria* helped Lucan frame his poetic narrative of the civil wars.[14]

The allure of the arena was just as strong, I would argue, when Apuleius of Madauros set out to weave his variegated "Greekish" tales together "in Milesian mode," as he put it in the Preface to Book I, with the aim of "caressing the ears" of his audience "with their whispering charms" in his work otherwise known as *The Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass*.[15] While recent work has illustrated how Apuleius' detailed descriptions of two gladiatorial *munera*—in Plataea in Book IV (4.13–21) and at Corinth in Book X (10.16–35)—have much to reveal about the social and cultural politics of staging gladiatorial spectacles at the local level in the cities of the Roman Empire,[16] this paper seeks to explore the linguistic lure of the arena in the work. The first part examines the way in which gladiatorial language and metaphor are deployed by Apuleius to powerful rhetorical effect, while the second argues that Apuleius used his own experience of watching—and perhaps even staging—gladiatorial spectacles and previous literary allusions to the arena to suggest certain narrative strategies for a number of the episodes to be found in his novel.

A number of scholars have already sketched some of the ways in which theatrical productions and public spectacle influenced Apuleius' narrative technique. Niall Slater, for instance, has underlined the importance of the spectator's voyeuristic gaze in several key scenes of the work, in particular emphasizing how the spectator often becomes the focus of spectacle.[17] Nicole Fick and Maaike Zimmerman have both shown how the Judgement of Paris scene staged at the public spectacle put on at Corinth by the local magistrate Thiasus in Book X was influenced by contemporary pantomime.[18] Stavros Frangoulidis

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14 Leigh (1997) 234–291 (ch. 7, "A View to a Kill—Lucan's Amphitheatrical Audience").

15 Apul. *Met.* 1.1: *at ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram, auresque tuas benivolas lepido susurro permulceam. … fabulam Graecanicam incipimus*. For a detailed discussion of the prologue, see the various contributions in Kahane and Laird (2001).

16 Edmondson (2016). For detailed studies of such spectacles in the cities of the Greek East, see Robert (1940); Mann (2009, 2011).

17 Slater (1998, 2003).

18 Fick (1990); Zimmerman (1993), (2000) 366–405; cf. recently Robert (2012) esp. 98–107. On Thiasus' *munus* as *II vir* at Corinth, see also Edmondson (2016).

has argued that the narrator of the tale in Book IV (4.13–21) of the robber Thrasyleon who dressed up as a bear to gain entry into the house of Demochares, a rich member of the local elite at Plataea in Boeotia, is playing a role analogous to that of a *munerarius* sponsoring a public spectacle in a similar line of argument to that of Andrew Feldherr in his discussion of Livy's first decade (above, 163–164).[19] Regine May has analyzed, more generally, the influence of Greek and Latin drama on Apuleius' novel.[20] But to date no study has been undertaken, to my knowledge, of the full literary allure of the arena in Apuleius' novel.

1 Gladiatorial Imagery and Gladiatorial Metaphor

Apuleius' work is packed full of low-life characters, not least brigands, who were a constant danger to anyone who had to travel beyond the *cordon sanitaire* of the cities in any Roman province.[21] So when he wants to enrich his imagery of these brigands, Apuleius not surprisingly resorts to the figure of the gladiator as an obvious comparator. Thus in Book IV, for example, a young aristocratic woman, whose name we much later learn is Charite, soon after her capture by bandits pours out her anxieties to their housekeeper: "Oh! How awful to be tortured by such uncertainty, whether I will live or be butchered in the midst of so many of these bandits, this horrendous gang of gladiators!" (4.25.4: *sub incerta salutis et carnificinae laniena inter tot ac tales latrones et horrendum gladiatorum populum*). And shortly afterwards she relates the details of her kidnapping, which took place as she sat in her *cubiculum* with her mother getting ready for her wedding later that same day: "She was pressing honey-sweet kisses on my lips and propagating the hope of children to come with anxious vows, when suddenly a gang of gladiators burst in, savage with the look of war, brandishing their naked and hostile blades. They turned their hands neither to slaughter nor to plunder, but invaded our room, lined up in a dense and close-ranked wedged formation" (4.26.6–7: *mellitisque saviis crebriter ingestis iam spem futuram liberorum votis anxiis propagabat, cum inruptionis subitae gladiatorum impetus ad belli faciem saeviens, nudis et infestis mucronibus coruscans, non caedi, non rapinae manus adferunt, sed denso conglobatoque cuneo cubiculum nostrum invadunt protinus*). The bandits broke in as if they were gladiators making a dramatic entry into the gladiatorial arena. Not only is Apuleius

19 Frangoulidis (1999); cf. Frangoulidis (2001) 129–147.
20 May (2006).
21 On bandits in Apuleius, Riess (2001); more generally, Shaw (1984); Riess (2011). For the range of characters in the novel, Millar (1981); Bradley (2012).

here equating the desperate brigands with equally desperate gladiators in his metaphorical language, but he is also consciously alluding to Cicero's reiterated combination of *gladiator* and *latro* in his invective repertoire. As we have seen, Cicero described L. Antonius as "that Asiatic myrmillo, that bandit in Italy!" (Cic. *Phil.* 12.20: *hic myrmillo Asiaticus, latro Italiae*) and M. Antonius "the leader of bandits and gladiators" (*Phil.* 13.20: *ad latronum et gladiatorum ducem*) or, in a lengthier riff, "a single out-of-control gladiator … waging war against the fatherland with a band of the most horrendous bandits" (13.16: *unus furiosus gladiator cum taeterrimorum latronum manu contra patriam … gerit bellum*). Most elaborately of all, Cicero labels a person thinking of launching a coup d'état as "a gladiator, a bandit, or a Catiline" (*Phil.* 14.14: *in aliquem credo hoc gladiatorem aut latronem aut Catilinam esse conlatum, non in eum, qui, ne quid tale in re publica fieri posset, effecerit*).

However, gladiators were not just renowned for their fighting abilities; they were also famed for their sexual prowess.[22] Not for nothing did Roman brides on their marriage day have their hair parted with a spear (the *hasta caelibaris*) that had been dipped in gladiator's blood.[23] This may have been the reason that triggered Apuleius' decision to equate bandits with gladiators in the scene, already discussed, when they burst in at precisely the moment that Charite was getting ready for her wedding (cf. 4.26.4–6, discussing, in very short order, her betrothal, the marriage contract, the pre-wedding sacrifice, the marital home decked out with laurels and torches, and the *hymenaeum*, the wedding hymn). Indeed, in the sentence immediately preceding the entry of the gladiator-like brigands, Charite's mother had been actually dressing her for her wedding, praying that her daughter's marriage would be blessed with children (4.26.6).

More carnal thoughts of gladiators as sex symbols underlie another episode where gladiatorial imagery infuses Apuleius' narrative voice: the graphic love-making scene in Book II involving Lucius and Photis, the seductive household-slave of his host Milo in the Thessalian town of Hypata. Photis had left some dainty snacks, drinking-cups, and a flask of wine for Lucius in his *cubiculum*, which he describes as "perfect appetizers for their gladiatorial love-making" (2.15.6: *prorsus gladiatoriae Veneris antecenia*). Apuleius then picks up the gladiatorial theme once Photis has stripped off all her clothes and stands transformed, in Lucius' eyes, into the very embodiment of Venus rising from the sea's waves, coyly shielding her "little smooth-shaven female part" (*glabellum feminal*) with her "rosy little hand" (*rosea palmula*) (2.17.2). The word *palmula* may

22 Succinct treatment in Hopkins (1983) 21–23.

23 Festus p. 55L; cf. Hersch (2010) 80–84, esp. 81. Gladiators' blood was also believed to be a useful cure for epileptics: Moog and Karenberg (2003).

here have a double meaning: not just the rosy little palm of her hand, but also the small round shield (*palma*) carried by Thracian-type gladiators.[24] But the overtones of arena-combat grow stronger when, just before they commence their love-making, she encourages Lucius' ardor in martial language (2.17.3):

> *"proeliare," inquit, "et fortiter proeliare, nec enim tibi cedam nec terga vortam. comminus in aspectum, si vir es, derige et grassare naviter et occide moriturus. hodierna pugna non habet missionem."*
>
> "Fight," she said, "and fight bravely! I will not give way nor turn my back on you. Close in and make a frontal assault, if you are a real man. Attack zealously and kill me, since you are about to die. In today's battle there'll be no discharge."

Two turns of phrase in particular are suggestive of the amphitheater rather than the battlefield proper: first, Photis' exhortation to Lucius, "Kill me, since you are about to die" (*occide moriturus*); and secondly, the notion that their combat was one *sine missione* ("without any [hope of] discharge"). On the battlefield, there was theoretically at least a chance of survival; it was in the arena that death was the normal expectation of all but the very best gladiators. Hence a gladiator was by definition a person who was always "on the point of death" (*moriturus*). Even if the allocution "We who are about to die salute you!" (*te morituri salutamus*) was not necessarily—contrary to popular legend—a regular part of arena ritual,[25] we know that on at least one occasion some condemned criminals, forced in 52 CE to take part in a sea-battle (*naumachia*) staged by Claudius on the Fucine Lake, opened the spectacle by addressing the emperor with those famous lines (Suet. *Claud.* 21.6; cf. Dio Cass. 60.33.4, recounting the same incident: χαῖρε, αὐτοκράτορ· οἱ ἀπολούμενοί σε ἀσπαζόμεθα).

Secondly, gladiatorial combats "without (hope of) discharge" (*sine missione*) were the most prized of all, expensive and worthy of particular mention when a *munus* was being advertised or its producer thanked for the quality of the program.[26] One of the characters at Trimalchio's banquet in Petronius' *Satyrica* refers enthusiastically to an upcoming *munus* to be staged *sine fuga* ("without hope of escape," Petron. *Sat.* 45), which seems to be an alternative way of describing this same type of combat. Augustus had allegedly tried to ban

24 On the equipment of Thracian-type gladiators, see Junkelmann (2000) 119–120.

25 See Leon (1939).

26 For further discussion, see Robert (1940) 258–261; Ville (1981) 403–405; Coleman (2000); Carter (2007) 102–103; Fagan (2011) 195–196.

combats *sine missione* after a particularly gruesome *munus* staged by Nero's grandfather, evidently without lasting success (Suet. *Aug.* 45.3). Conversely, references to the *missio*, a reprieve for a gladiator who had lost a bout after an impressive display, are too numerous in our literary and epigraphic sources to go into here, except to note the formal mention on several gladiatorial tombstones of the number of times the combatant had been "reprieved while still standing" (*stans missus*).[27] Furthermore, it seems the crowd might chant "*missus! missus!*" ("Reprieved! Reprieved!") or "*iugula! iugula!*" ("Cut his throat! Cut his throat!") to persuade the *editor* to reach his decision in such circumstances, as we can determine from a (now lost) relief from Beneventum, which depicted a Samnite-type gladiator fighting a giant phallus, above and below which these acclamations were scratched, according to the autopsy of Ludwig Friedländer and a drawing by Raffaele Garrucci (*CIL* IX 1671 = *ILS* 5134 = *EAOR* III 72). Now of course the term originates in the military sphere, where soldiers who had served loyally could be granted an *honesta missio* (an "honorable discharge") at the end of their service.[28] But in the Apuleian passage under consideration, it must be being used in its gladiatorial sense, I would argue, given the immediately prior juxtaposition of the gladiatorial injunction *occide moriturus*.

Further confirmation of this is provided when Lucius provides a succinct summary after a graphic description of their love-making: "With wrestling bouts like these, we spent the whole night completely awake until the confines of dawn, taking up our wine-cups from time to time to refresh our weariness, incite our passion, and renew our pleasure" (2.17.5: *his et huius modi colluctationibus ad confinia lucis usque pervigiles egimus, poculis interdum lassitudinem refoventes et libidinem incitantes et voluptatem integrantes*). Apuleius here employs another term from the world of spectacle—*colluctationes*—to describe their love-making. As an excerpt from Ulpian's commentary on the praetor's edict preserved in the *Digest* indicates, *colluctatio* was a synonym for the *pancratium* (*Dig.* 9.2.7.4 [Ulpian]: *in colluctatione vel pancratio*) and came to be used metaphorically to mean a significant struggle or contending with something. And while "pleasure" (*voluptas*) in this passage obviously refers to the pleasures of sex, one should not forget that it was often used to refer to the pleasure of watching public spectacle. Honorific inscriptions on statue bases sometimes refer to the *voluptates* provided by a generous benefactor who had sponsored public spectacles for his community, as, for example, at Panormus

27 For example, *CIL* VI 10194 = *ILS* 5088 = *EAOR* I 92 (Rome); *CIL* X 7297 = *ILS* 5113 = *EAOR* III 70 (Panormus).

28 For further discussion, see, for instance, Mann (2000).

(Palermo) in Sicily ca. 150 CE (*CIL* X 7295 = *ILS* 5055 = *EAOR* III 53), where a *munerarius*, whose name is lost in the missing top section of the text, is praised for "the *voluptas* that held the people in its grip for many hours of spectating" ([... *populum per multa*]*s horas theatri voluptas tenuit*) and the reason for setting up multiple statues in his honor is explicitly specified as "because of the *voluptates* that he had nobly exhibited" ([*propter*] *voluptates honeste exhibitas*).[29]

Indeed, Apuleius himself employs this very same term *voluptas* with reference to a gladiatorial *munus* in three passages in particular. First, in the opening section of Book I, the character called Socrates begins his tale by relating how "he was pursuing the pleasure of a fame-inducing gladiatorial *munus*" at Larissa in Thessaly (1.7.5: *voluptatem gladiatorii spectaculi famigerabilis consector*) when he was attacked by bandits and then sought refuge at the inn of the witch Meroe. Similarly, in Book IV we hear that the aim of the would-be benefactor and *munerarius* Demochares at Plataea in Boeotia was to provide "pleasures for the people (*publicae voluptates*) with a brilliance worthy of his fortune" (4.13.2: *vir et genere primarius et opibus plurimus et liberalitate praecipuus digno fortunae suae splendore publicas voluptates instruebat*). And, finally, in Book X the slave *familia* of the chief magistrate of Corinth was awestruck by the "pleasurable spectacle" being sponsored by their master (10.35.1: *familia ... voluptario spectaculo attonita*). So for Apuleius the emotional pleasure (*voluptas*) of watching a gladiatorial spectacle was in some senses related to the physical pleasure (*voluptas*) of sex, and the raw physicality experienced by spectacles at the games is one of the themes so well elucidated by Fagan's use of social psychology as a heuristic device in his book *The Lure of the Arena*.[30]

29 Cf. *CIL* XIV 3014 = *ILS* 6252 = *EAOR* IV 23 (Praeneste): a local magistrate and priest is praised for his generosity in providing for the *voluptates et utilitates* of the people through the construction of a gladiatorial training school and *spoliarium*; *CIL* VIII 7990–7991; cf. *ILS* 6861 (Rusicade): a local magistrate and priest commits funds for the purpose of *voluptates*; *AE* 1988, 1116 (Thuburnica): a statue base is set up honoring a local aedile in thanks for the construction of an amphitheater and the fact that he increased the pleasures (*voluptates*) of his native city through a glorious production of a gladiatorial *lusio*; *IRT* 563 (Lepcis Magna), a late-imperial statue base for a local duumvir set up to thank him *ob diversarum voluptatum exhibitiones adque admirabilem ludorum editionem amoremque incomparabilem in patriam et cives suos*; cf. *IRT* 567, 578, 580, 601b (all Lepcis Magna); *AE* 1975, 472, referring to the *maximam ... voluptatem* provided by the refurbishment of the circus at Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in the Constantinian period thanks to the intervention of the *comes Hispaniarum* and the provincial governor of Lusitania.

30 Fagan (2011).

2 The Impact of the Arena on Apuleian Narrative

It was not just isolated vignettes or brief thoughts that Apuleius derived from his experience of the arena; occasionally whole episodes in his narrative were suggested to him, I would argue, by scenes that he himself had witnessed or heard about from the Roman arena. It is especially the highly visual and dramatic forms of public executions and wild-beast hunts (*venationes*) that provide the models for a number of dramatic moments in Apuleius' narrative.

Let us begin with public executions. Gory executions in the arena often at the claws or teeth of wild beasts (*damnationes ad bestias*) helped to suggest to Apuleius vivid similes to intensify the description of some of the grislier punishments meted out in the course of his variegated narrative. In Book VI the brigands in mock-solemn conclave discuss four possible ways of executing Charite, all of which are derived from public executions staged in the arena. They wonder whether to cremate her alive, throw her to wild-beasts, fix her to a *patibulum* (that is, a fork-shaped yoke placed on the necks of criminals as a means of execution), or tear her to pieces on a rack (an element of the *summum supplicium*) (6.31.1: *et utpote in coetu turbulento variae fuere sententiae, ut primus vivam cremari censeret puellam, secundus bestiis obici suaderet, tertius patibulo suffigi iuberet, quartus tormentis excarnificari praeciperet.*).[31] They eventually decide against all these "speedy means of extinction by a quick death" in favor of sewing her up inside the ass's belly and exposing them on the top of a cliff (6.31.5–32.3).

Moreover, this parody of a senatorial debate[32] occurs just after we have witnessed a "fatal charade," to borrow Kathleen Coleman's memorable phrase to denote executions in the amphitheater in which the condemned were forced to take on mythological roles for the entertainment of the crowd.[33] The bandits' elderly serving-woman has just finished telling the long tale of Cupid and Psyche when the ass tries to escape. She tries desperately to stop him by clinging tightly to his halter, but refusing to let go, she is dragged along the ground screaming as the ass presses on regardless. Charite hears her screams and runs out to watch. Apuleius here describes Charite as if she were a spectator in the arena: "She ran out after hearing the cries and saw, by Hercules, a scene from a

31 For vivid summaries (with copious evidence) of these (and other) forms of cruel execution, see Wiseman (1985) 5–8; Coleman (1990); Potter (1993, 1996).

32 For the view that this episode parodies debates in the Roman senate about suitable punishments for those found guilty of *maiestas* under Tiberius (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.31–32, 3.13–15, 17, 27, 49–51), see Habinek (1990) 65–66.

33 Coleman (1990).

memorable spectacle, a little old Dirce dangling not from a bull, but from an ass" (6.27.5: *quae vocis excitu procurrens videt, Hercules, memorandi spectaculi scaenam, non tauro, sed asino dependentem Dircen aniculam*). Just like convicts in the amphitheater, the old woman was forced—here by accident rather than by design—to take on a role derived from mythology, that of Dirce, whose angry stepsons, according to the myth, anxious to punish her for scheming against their own mother, strapped her to the horns of a bull, which then proceeded to gore her to death. There is confirmation of Christians being forced to play this very role during their martyrdoms in the arena in the very late first or early second century CE.[34] Such a vivid and striking scene made the punishment that much more memorable, which in turn served a deterrent effect to persuade the onlooking crowd against breaking the law.

A second example occurs in Book VII. Here the vengeful mother of the nasty boy who had made the ass's life such a misery, but who was eventually killed by bears, starts to take out her anger on the ass in his stable one night by trying to thrust a red-hot poker up his rectum. If it had not been for the ass's quick thinking in launching a stream of liquid dung right in her face and eyes, "the ass would have perished, a Meleager at the hand of the firebrand of that delirious Althaea" (7.28.4: *ceterum titione delirantis Althaeae Meleager asinus interisset*). Now it is true that we have no explicit evidence of the death of Meleager being staged in the arena as a fatal charade, and the standard version of Meleager's death—whereby his mother Althaea, angered by her son's killing of her two brothers in a dispute after he had slain the Calydonian boar, threw a log into a fire and as soon as it was consumed by the flames, Meleager dropped down dead—would not have had much dramatic appeal. However, it is possible to imagine a fatal charade involving a criminal in the role of "Meleager" being pursued by his raving mad mother, "Althaea," who then fatally rammed a flaming firebrand up his anus; this would have entertained the massed crowd and served a memorably deterrent penal effect. Alternatively, one can easily imagine a convict dressed as "Meleager" being compelled to hunt wild-beasts, including a boar, and failing lamentably to the huge amusement of the crowd—and contrary to the myth (παρ' ἱστορίαν), just as in the spectacles that inaugurated the Flavian Amphitheater a convict "Orpheus" failed to play his lyre well enough to charm the wild animals that were unleashed upon him (Mart. *Spect.* 21 = SB 24).[35]

34 Clement of Rome, *1 Cor.* 6.2, with Coleman (1990) 65–66.

35 cf. Mart. *Spect.* 15 (= SB 17), claiming that the contemporary *venator* Carpophorus outstripped even Meleager, who had killed just one boar, the Calydonian.

Other executions involving fire certainly were staged in the arena: cremation or the application of firebrands, hot pitch, and other assorted aggravations were common in the course of corporal and capital punishments.[36] Criminals were forced to play the role of C. Mucius Scaevola thrusting his right hand into a sacrificial fire, presumably not as willingly as the noble youth had supposedly done in the early years of the Republic to demonstrate to the Etruscan leader Lars Porsenna, whom he had tried unsuccessfully to assassinate, that the Romans were willing to endure all sorts of physical sacrifice to stop him from capturing Rome.[37] The arena scene transformed a noble, defiant act into a punishment, perhaps influenced by the fact that those found guilty of treason often suffered cremation.

By alluding to these fatal charades in the arena, Apuleius appears once again to be inviting his audience to become spectators at the gruesome scenes that he narrates.[38] He seeks to make his tales memorable, just as amphitheater crowds were expected to marvel at and remember the spectacular offerings that they had witnessed in the *munera* they attended. In the final section of this paper, I would like to suggest that the narrative content of whole episodes are influenced, at least in part, by the spectacles that Apuleius and his readers regularly watched in the amphitheaters across the Roman world; wild-beast hunts (*venationes*), violent executions, and gladiatorial combats all had an irresistible allure on the Roman literary imagination.

The scene where the debt to contemporary arena entertainments is most obvious is the three-day *munus*, staged as part of his magisterial duties by the *II vir quinquennalis* of Corinth, Thiasus, in Book X. The spectacle involves an opening procession (*pompa*) of performers through the streets of Corinth, a Greek Pyrrhic dance, then an elaborate pantomime, to be followed by wild-beast hunts (*venationes*), "fatal charades," and then gladiatorial combats (10.18–19, 23, 29–35). There is a lavish and very detailed description of the Pyrrhic dance and pantomime with which the *munus* opened (10.29–32), which owes much to actual performances and mythological pantomimes put on as part of

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36 Wiseman (1985) 5, citing Lucr. 3.1017, with its list of criminal punishments.

37 Mart. *Epig.* 8.30, 10.25, with Coleman (1990) 61–62. For one version of the original story, see Liv. 2.12–13.

38 I am less sure that Niall Slater (2003, 87, 93) is correct to describe the spectacle of Lucius' embarrassments at the Festival of Laughter (*Risus*) in Book III as a "potential fatal charade." The episode is unquestionably theatrical, and not just because it takes place in a theater, but the term "fatal charades" should be reserved for executions in which condemned criminals were forced to play mythological or historical roles as part of the execution ritual. No mythological or historical role-play takes place, or is anticipated, in this scene.

Roman public spectacles.[39] As the auditorium is being prepared for the third element of the first day's performances—a *venatio* and connected execution of criminals, to include a "fatal charade" in which a condemned woman is to play the role of Pasiphae to the ass's bull (10.23.2, cf. 10.34.5),[40] an event foreshadowed by the immediately prior episode (10.19–22) in which a wealthy Corinthian matron paid the ass's master for a night of rough sex with the well-endowed beast—the ass makes his escape to Cenchreae, and so we are deprived of hearing any further details of the three-day *munus*: neither the *venatio* nor the public executions, still less the gladiatorial presentations. There are other episodes, however, in the novel where we do get to see the impact of real *venationes* and public executions on the narrative strategies that Apuleius devised.

Twice in the *Golden Ass* characters are lacerated by dogs, and on both occasions Apuleius explicitly comments on the "spectacular" nature of these deaths. In Book VIII, the slaves from Charite's family estate decide to run away after her death, anxious about the impending change of owners. As they are passing a rural villa, its tenants (*coloni*) unleash their fiercest dogs on the runaway slaves, thinking them a band of robbers. Apuleius describes the scene in all its gory detail as most of the slaves are lacerated to death (8.17.1–3), pausing to comment: "What a spectacle, by Hercules, you would have seen: worthier of pity than of recollection!" (8.17.3: *cerneres non tam hercules memorandum quam miserandum etiam spectaculum*). An even more memorable scene occurs in Book IV when Apuleius has one of the bandits who have captured the ass Lucius narrate the story of Demochares, a local benefactor from Plataea in Boeotia, who wished to provide "pleasures for the people with a brilliance worthy of his fortune" (4.13.2). The whole episode is heavily indebted to contemporary spectacle for several aspects of its narrative.

It turns out that Demochares' attempted generosity was frustrated because the bears that he had collected for his spectacle fell victim to a summer heat wave and the sudden, fatal epidemic that ensued.[41] Soon thereafter, a group of bandits concoct a plan to smuggle the bravest of them, Thrasyleon, onto Demochares' estate disguised in the skin of one of those deceased bears on the

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39 Fick (1990); Finkelpearl (1991); Zimmerman (1993); May (2008); Robert (2012) 98–107.

40 On at least two occasions female criminals were forced to play the role of Pasiphae being penetrated by a bull during executions in the arena at Rome, first under Nero (Suet. *Nero* 12.2) and then at the spectacles that inaugurated the Flavian Amphitheater in 80 CE (Mart. *Spect.* 5 = SB 6), with Coleman (1990) 63–64 and (2006) 62–68.

41 For a detailed analysis of his attempted *munus* and the elaborate preparations for it, see Edmondson (2016).

pretence that this "huge bear" was a gift from a friend "to adorn Demochares' *munus*" (4.16.1: *ornando muneri*). This "bear" is, in fact, a kind of Trojan horse, a gift gratefully received, but designed to permit the robbing of Demochares' house—a sack of Troy in miniature, so to speak.[42] At the dead of night, the "bear" lets himself out of his cage and, after disposing of the guards and doorman, ushers his fellow bandits into Demochares' house to initiate the robbery (4.18). However, their plans are frustrated when a slave sees the supposed bear running around in the open and sounds the alarm (4.19.1–3). He lights up the whole area with torches and all sorts of other lights, a point the bandit narrator underlines by enumerating no fewer than five different lighting devices: "The darkness grew light thanks to torches, lamps, wax-tapers, tallow-candles, and every other device for nocturnal illumination" (4.19.3: *taedis, lucernis, cereis, sebaciis, et ceteris nocturni luminis instrumentis clarescunt tenebrae*). These illuminations recall the night-time spectacles put on by the emperor Titus during his 100-day-long inauguration of the Flavian Amphitheater (Mart. *Spect.* 25 = SB 28, a poem celebrating the nocturnal show featuring Leander and the Nereids, in which "the night wave spared you, Leander": *nocturna tibi, Leandre, pepercerit unda*) or the *venationes* and gladiatorial *munera* put on by Domitian at night, the whole arena lit bright with torches (Suet. *Dom.* 4.1: *nam venationes gladiatoresque et noctibus ad lychnuchos*). So too here the area has become a nocturnal arena, amply lit for the spectacle that follows.

The vigilant slave starts the action in motion by setting a multitude of variously armed slaves (4.19.4: *singuli fustibus, lanceis, destrictis denique gladiis armati*) and particularly nasty hunting-dogs on the supposed "bear," the ferocious nature of the dogs underlined by a telling parenthesis in which the narrator picks out in graphic, focalizing detail their long ears and bristling hair (4.19.5: *canes ... venaticos auritos illos et horricomes*). He then comments on the "amazing" fighting defense that Thrasyleon put up against these dogs (4.20.1: *plane Thrasyleonem mire canibus repugnantem latens pone ianuam ipse prospicio*). We join the narrator as a surrogate audience in watching the spectacle through his eyes from a safe distance; the episode has patently become an arena spectacle.[43]

The action continues vivid and violent. Thrasyleon displays all the skills of a gladiator in fighting for his life: "sometimes retreating, sometimes making a stand, varying the postures and movements of his body" (4.20.3: *nunc fugiens, nunc resistens variis corporis sui schemis ac motibus*). We, the audience, might

42 See Slater (2003) 95.

43 As noted by Habinek (1990) 64–65; Frangoulidis (1999), (2001) 129–147; Slater (2003) 94–96.

almost be watching a gladiator fighting in the arena, just as the bandit narrator observes the show from close quarters but behind the safety of a wooden door (4.20.1). We have been prepared for this, as Frangoulidis has noted, by the oath that Thrasyleon had taken earlier when he agreed to take on the role of the bear (4.14.7–8: *instanti militiae disponimus sacramentum*). This *sacramentum* is analogous to the oath that gladiators swore to their *lanista*, "to endure being burned, bound, beaten, and killed by the sword," to quote Petronius' pastiche of this oath (Petron. *Sat.* 117: *sacramentum iuravimus uri, vinciri, verberari, ferroque necari*).[44] And Apuleius makes the connection explicit when he comments that Thrasyleon "hung on with determination to the role that he had volunteered to play" (4.20.3). The Latin here, *scaenam ... quam sponte sumpserat, cum anima retinens*, takes us directly into a spectacle setting with its mention of the "stage role" (*scaena*) that Thrasyleon had assumed.

Despite his valiant rearguard, the gladiatorial "bear," who turns out to be as bold as a lion in keeping with his punningly significant name,[45] is then chased around the arena before being surrounded and "besieged" by whole packs of neighborhood dogs and then "butchered" (*laniatum*) by the multitude of bites they inflict (4.20.5: *Thrasyleonem nostrum catervis canum saevientium cinctum atque obsessum multisque numero morsibus laniatum*). In other words, his gladiatorial display has morphed, first, into a wild-beast hunt (a *venatio*), in which the bear with a leonine name is pursued by hunting dogs, and then into an aggravated form of execution by wild beasts (*damnatio ad bestias*) as he meets his painful end.[46] As spectators, we the audience get to witness the three key elements of a *iustum ac legitimum munus*.[47]

The fact that Apuleius has designed this scene as if it were being put on in an arena is driven home by the brief and plangent apostrophe of the narrator at this climactic point: "It was a pitiable and ghastly spectacle that I witnessed!"

44 Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 37.1. This oath then permitted the signing of a gladiatorial contract (*auctoramentum*), on which see Diliberto (1981); Nicolet (1983); Mosci Sassi (1992) 77–82; more briefly Kyle (1998) 87.

45 On significant names in Apuleius, see Keulen 2000. Leo was also the name of a famous gladiator in the 50s BCE, mentioned by Cicero (*Sest.* 135, with Schol. Bob., p. 140 [Stangl]), 11–17: Mosci Sassi (1992) 189–190.

46 For the scene as a mixture of a *venatio* and *damnatio ad bestias*, Slater (2000) 210–211. For hunting dogs taking part in *venationes*, note Mart. *Spect.* 29–30 (= SB 33) (Molossian hounds) and the Zliten mosaic: Dunbabin (2016) 190 and Fig. 7.16b. For the transition from gladiatorial display to *venatio*, see Habinek (1990) 64–65.

47 The phrase is used at Suet. *Claud.* 21 to describe a fully developed *munus* with wild-beast hunts in the morning, executions at the lunch-hour, and gladiatorial combats in the afternoon. See Ville (1981) 129–173; Edmondson (1996) 77, with further references.

(4.20.5: "*miserum funestumque spectamen aspexi!*"). He goes on to underline the gladiatorial valor that Thrasyleon had displayed as he finally met his end: "He never betrayed the faith of his oath by crying out or by screaming" (4.21.2: *neque clamore ac ne ululate quidem fidem sacramenti prodidit*), with the mention of his *sacramentum* recalling the oath he had made at the start of the episode to his bandit comrades, just like all gladiators did to their *lanista* in actual gladiatorial contexts (4.14.7–8, discussed above, 175). And then finally Thrasyleon's last moments and death are highly reminiscent of a gladiator meeting his end in the arena but enhancing his reputation in the process (4.21.3):

> *iam morsibus laceratus ferroque laniatus, obnixo mugitu et ferino fremitu praesentem casum generoso vigore tolerans gloriam sibi reservavit, vitam fato reddidit.*
>
> Though torn by teeth and slashed with steel, he continued to growl and roar like an animal, as he bore his current fate with noble vigor before giving up the ghost, but not before he had won himself lasting fame.

We are reminded that it was all witnessed by a swelling crowd of onlookers: "His exploits had terrified and stupefied the crowd (*coetus*) that had gathered" (4.21.4: *tanto tamen terrore tantaque formidine coetum illum turbaverat*). So we glimpse the crowd's physical reaction to the spectacle, to set alongside the narrator's visualization of it.

The whole scene could indeed have been lifted from an arena performance. So even though the local worthy Demochares never got to stage his *munus* earlier in Book IV, the exploits of Thrasyleon allow us the audience to enjoy at least a surrogate version of the spectacles that Demochares would have staged, had the weather and fate not intervened.[48] Apuleius punningly hints at this in the prelude to the episode when the bandits are planning their assault on Demochares' house. Here they are described as volunteering "to undertake the *munus*" of dressing up as a bear (4.15.1: *ad munus obeundum*); literally, "to take on the duty," but I would agree with Niall Slater here that the double meaning of "to take on a gladiatorial *munus*" must lurk beneath the surface.[49] The whole detailed tale of Thrasyleon's exploits in bear costume and his grisly end is structured like a day's events in the amphitheater and we the audience become part of the crowd in watching and experiencing the exhilarating and exciting spec-

48 A point emphasized by Frangoulidis (2001) 136.
49 Slater (2003) 94 n. 18.

tacle. As Thrasyleon bravely meets his death, we as literary spectators, just like the actual onlookers in the narrative, are terrorized, stupefied, and emotionally churned up (4.21.4: *tanto tamen terrore tantaque formidine coetum illum turbaverat*) by what we hear through the narrative voice of Thrasyleon's bandit comrade, who related the tale.

3 Conclusion

As I argued in an earlier essay on staging gladiatorial *munera* in the *Golden Ass*, Apuleius' novel allows us a rare glimpse into the social and cultural mentalities of members of the Roman provincial elite with regard to the sponsoring of public spectacles in the cities of the Roman Empire.[50] Through his own lived experience as the son of a chief magistrate (*II vir*) of the Roman colony of Madauros and then later himself as a member of the local elite of Carthage, where according to the tradition preserved by St. Augustine (*Ep.* 138.9) he served as provincial high priest of the imperial cult, in which capacity he sponsored gladiatorial *munera* and wild-beast hunts at Carthage (*qui sacerdos provinciae, pro magno fuit ut munera ederet, venatoresque vestiret*),[51] Apuleius, more than most, understood the centrality of public spectacle and civic euergetism for maintaining consensus between elite and plebs in the cities of the Roman provinces. That gives his accounts of the *munera* planned for Plataea in Book IV and Corinth in Book X a special authority. But public spectacle was so deeply ingrained within Apuleius' overall mindset that spectacle and the perspective of the spectator, the "voyeuristic gaze," to borrow Niall Slater's telling phrase, were never far from the surface of the action throughout his novel. It is thus no coincidence that in the Prologue to the *Golden Ass* Apuleius invokes a vivid image from the circus to describe his *modus operandi* in composing the work. His linguistic shifting from Greek to Latin—he was writing a "Greekish tale," a *fabula Graecanica*, in Latin, "the language of the Forum" (*forensis sermo*)—corresponds very closely to the sort of writing he produced, with its constant shifts of plot and frequent changes of scene. As he himself comments, he was like a *desultor* jumping from one horse to another in full view of the circus crowd (1.1):

50 Edmondson (2016). On gladiatorial spectacles in the Greek East, Robert (1940) and Mann (2009, 2011) are crucial.

51 For the argument that Apuleius' priesthood was not the provincial flaminate, but perhaps a priesthood of Aesculapius, see Rives (1994).

> *iam haec equidem ipsa vocis immutatio desultoriae scientiae stilo quem accessimus respondet*
>
> Now indeed this change of language corresponds to the writing-style we have adopted, which is equivalent to the skill of the *desultor*.[52]

Thus it should come as no surprise that Apuleius chose to deploy the lexicon of the world of public spectacle to provide vivid metaphors at several points of the story. This was in part because allusion to public spectacle was already an entrenched part of the Latin literary tradition, as we have seen, and his eagerness to allude to earlier literature in general has now been shown to be a key feature of his overall literary style;[53] but it was also because public spectacle was such an ingrained part of the world-view of local municipal elites such as Apuleius. The sheer vibrancy and memorable quality of the best produced gladiatorial *munera* in cities like Carthage, Corinth, or Rome had an important impact, too, suggesting to Apuleius all kinds of striking vignettes to arrest his readers' attention in particular scenes and occasionally providing a sort of script for the narrative of certain whole episodes. From this we might legitimately conclude that it was not just the masses who were attracted by the sheer thrill and "collective effervescence" of the Roman arena, as Garrett Fagan has so masterfully demonstrated; but rather the lure of the arena very much affected the educated literary elite such as Apuleius when they came to formulate their vision of the world they sought to evoke in their works of creative imagination.[54]

52 On *desultores* in the circus games, see Thuillier (1989, 2013); on this difficult passage of Apuleius, note the discussion by Harrison and Winterbottom (2001) 14–15.

53 On literary allusion in Apuleius, see *inter alia* Finkelpearl (1998); various contributions in Kahane and Laird (2001); Harrison (2005); Zimmerman (2006); Graverini (2007); Passetti (2007).

54 I am most grateful to audiences at McMaster University, York University, and the Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of Canada/Société canadienne des Études classiques at Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland, in May 2017 for their comments on earlier versions of this paper. It owes much to the generous scholarship of our much lamented colleague Garrett Fagan, who did so much to enhance our understanding of the Roman arena and a broad range of other topics. His insights and enthusiasms are so dearly missed.

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CHAPTER 11

Philippianus: A Late Roman Sicilian Landowner and His Use of the Monogram

R.J.A. Wilson

1 Introduction

Between 2013 and 2019 excavations in contrada Gerace, in deeply rural Sicily 10 km south of Enna, have uncovered elements of a late Roman estate center, including a small villa (Area A), a storehouse (B), a bath-house (D) and kilns (E and F). The details need not concern us here, except to note that the villa and the bath-house, and at least one of the kilns, belong to the second half of the fourth century CE, probably to its last third (ca. 370/400 CE).[1]

From the early days of the first excavation season, the site has produced examples of stamped tiles (now over 250 of them) in a number of different dies, of which eleven have been identified.[2] All, it seems, belong to a single production, and sometimes a single tile was stamped as many as four times with two or more different stamp types. Some are anepigraphic, in that they depict horses in oval stamps or good luck wishes within the form of a dolphin;[3] but when a name is given they all record the same person, a certain Philippianus.[4]

1 Interim reports have been published in Wilson (2015, 2017, 2018a, 2019a, and forthcoming), covering the excavation seasons of 2013 and 2015–2018 (there was no excavation in 2014). One for 2019 is in preparation. For an overall summary, Wilson (2019b); of the baths, Wilson (2020). For an Italian summary Wilson (2018b).

2 Wilson (2014), discussing 10 dies; for the eleventh Wilson (2017) 297, fig. 29.

3 Wilson (2014) 477, fig. 5, stamp-types 6 and 7 (a horse alone in each), and 9 and 10 ("Salvs" and "Tvtela").

4 One brick stamp records Cn … Cylindros (surface finds, on two bricks from the same die: Wilson [2018] 245, fig. 13). This might be the name of a landowner of a neighbouring estate who did not have brick-making capabilities, but more likely perhaps (since a succession of kilns seem to have been in use over a long period) it is the name of an earlier landowner at Gerace. The *tria nomina* that the Cylindros stamp records (the *nomen* is not preserved) was out of fashion by the late fourth century, when the single-name system predominated: see Kajanto (1997), especially 103–104, who notes that the last person to record a *praenomen* was Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, the consul of 485 CE, in 454. He, however, was exceptional: the *praenomen* had been generally discontinued long before this date (beginning in the Severan period).

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As characteristically on Sicilian tile stamps, this appears in the genitive case as PHILIPPIANI, meaning "property of" or "belonging to" Philippianus;[5] one die uses the alternative spelling FILIPPIANI.[6] In the context of rural production (a tile kiln proves that the roof-tiles were made on this very estate[7]), the name is surely that of the landowner of Gerace in the later fourth century, and not that of the tiler who actually manufactured the products.[8] Philippianus is an individual otherwise unknown to the pages of history—or indeed to the annals of Sicilian epigraphy.[9]

In the first season of excavation (2013) it was noted that two of the tile stamps differed from the others in presenting Philippianus' name in monogram form. Since then several further examples of the use of the monogram have been found in the Gerace excavations. This strong interest in monograms, highly unusual anywhere in the Roman provinces at this date, forms the focus of the present paper, which has three main goals: to provide a catalog of the examples discovered; to discuss the history of monogram use generally, especially in the fourth century CE; and to speculate whether we can contextualize the Gerace examples in the light of what else is known about the activities of Philippianus and his successors on their Sicilian estate. A monogram is a "device composed of two or more letters (especially the initials of a person's name) interwoven together."[10] There are, however, a number of different types. Those at Gerace are so-called "box" monograms, which attempt to reproduce all of the letters (and not just some of them) of the name that each enshrines, and to incorporate them into a centralized design which is as neat and compact as the constituent letters of the name allow. Often, as we will see, reading such complex designs can be difficult, and interpretations of them are frequently controversial; we are fortunate that the Gerace monograms (with one minor exception) do not pose such problems of interpretation.

5 E.g. parallels elsewhere in Sicily include M. Abietis Secondou; C. Buci Sotae; D. Caci Di[; C.A. Crispi; M.T. Luconis; C.L. Marci; L. Sisennae (Garozzo [2011] 673–712); Pop(iliae) Paetinae (Wilson [1990], 216, fig. 176.12–13).

6 Wilson (2014) 477, fig. 5, stamp type 3.

7 Bricks with Philippianus' stamp were used in the construction of arches supporting the kiln's firing chamber: Wilson (2019a) 265, fig. 9 (cf. also [2018a] 243, fig. 12).

8 In the context of estate production, the man in charge of the kiln production would surely not have been permitted to promote his own name above that of the landowner.

9 Examples of Types 3 (FILIPPIANI, circular) and 9 (SALVS) are known at Piano della Clesia, 13 km west of Gerace: Wilson (2014) 481–482 with n. 20. The former is Fraser and Matthews (1997) 451.

10 Brown (1993) 1818.

2 Catalog of the Gerace Monograms

1. PHILIPPIANI, as a single box monogram, in a number of different sizes:
   (a) in relief, within an oval frame, on a roof tile, attested in only a single example; 16 mm × 12 mm (Fig. 11.1). Wilson (2014) 477–478, figs. 5 and 8, Type 8.
   (b) identical to (a) but on an over-fired brick, stamped three times; found in kiln back-fill in Area E, possibly a "tester" stamp, only known from this example (Fig. 11.2). Wilson (2019a) 269, fig. 12.
   (c) in relief, large monogram of the same type. 85 mm high; found on multiple bricks used to construct Kiln 6 in Area E (Fig. 11.3). Wilson (2018a) 243, fig. 12; (2019a) 265, fig. 9.
   (d) in relief, as (c), but (unusually) on the inner side of a curved roof tile. Not complete; surviving height of stamp 70 mm (Fig. 11.4). Only one known example, from a superficial level during initial clearance above the kilns in Area E. Probably from the same die as (c); impression slightly distorted by stamping onto a curved surface. Unpublished (find of 2017).
   (e) in relief, example on a square construction brick used for building hypocaust *pilae* (as can be determined by the characteristic diagonal finger-marks on the rear of the brick). Only one known example, residual, from an early Byzantine building, north-east of the bathhouse in Area D (Fig. 11.5). Fragmentary (stamp not completely preserved): the distance between the two vertical strokes is 66 mm. That is the same size as the die used in 1c above, but this one lacks the horizontal line (indicating an L) at the foot of the left-hand upright, and is composed of thinner elements: it was clearly made from a different die. Unpublished (find of 2018).
   (f) in mosaic, dark blue tesserae on a white ground, in the south-east roundel (within a rosette) of the *frigidarium* mosaic in the bathhouse; diameter of roundel 35 cm (Fig. 11.6). *In situ*. Wilson (2019a) 315, fig. 43; (2019c) 27, fig. 24a; (2020) 490, fig. 13a.
2. PHILIPP and IANI in two separate monograms, incuse, on either side of a horse's head in relief, in profile facing right (Fig. 11.7). Tile-stamp (multiple examples, mainly from the villa in Area A); 80 mm × 29 mm. Wilson (2014) 477–478, figs. 5 and 7, Type 2.
3. ANTONINI (?), in relief, but (unusually) on the inner side of a curved roof tile (as 1d above, the only other known example of a Gerace stamp in this position). Not complete; maximum surviving height of stamp 70 mm (Fig. 11.8). The reading is not certain; the upward stroke of the I on the right

side is only faintly visible, but seems certainly to be present and part of the monogram.[11] Only one known example, from a dump layer outside the east wall of the *caldarium* of the bath-house. Unpublished (find of 2019).

4. ASCLEPIADES. In mosaic, dark blue tesserae on a white ground, in the north-west roundel (within a rosette) of the *frigidarium* mosaic in the bath-house; diameter of roundel 35 cm (Fig. 11.9). The reading is beyond question because of the reference to him in the outer border of the *frigidarium* mosaic; this is in the nominative case (see discussion below). The L has a very short horizontal foot, but the same is true of the L in monograms 1f and 5. *In situ*. Wilson (2019c) 27, fig. 24b; (2020) 490, fig. 13b.
5. CAPITOLINI. In mosaic, dark blue tesserae on a white ground, in the south-east roundel (within a rosette) of the *frigidarium* mosaic in the bath-house; diameter of roundel 35 cm (Fig. 11.10). The reading (also in the nominative case) is beyond question because of the reference to CAPITOLINI in the outer border of the *frigidarium* mosaic (see discussion below). Artistic licence is used for the A (part of the curved C stands in for the oblique, and normally straight, left stroke of the A, as it does also for the left vertical stroke of the N). Wilson (2019c) 27, fig. 24c; (2020) 490, fig. 13c.

11 ANTONINI is one of three possible readings: *PLRE* I, 74–76; II, 107; cf. Kajanto (1965) 161 (123 examples, all periods). ANTONII, which lasted in use down into late antiquity both under the single-name system and in conjunction with one or two other names (*PLRE* I, 76–78; II, 107–108), and ANTONIANI, are also of course possibilities. For the latter, Kajanto (1965) 140 (34 instances); *PLRE* I, 74 (= *ILS* 6111c, dated to 322 CE).

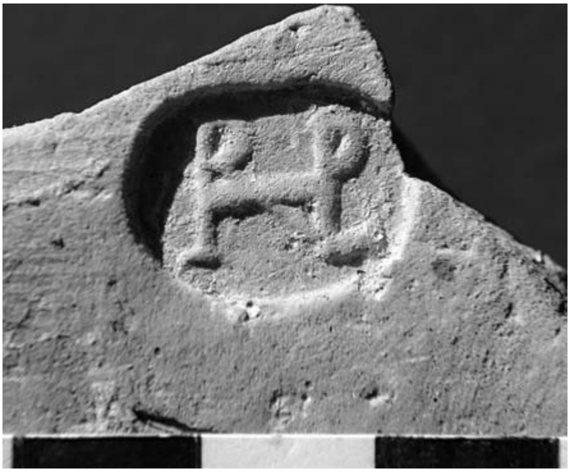

FIGURE 11.1
Gerace, stamp on a roof tile (Type 8), monogram, PHILIPPIANI (scale in cms)
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

FIGURE 11.2
Gerace, overfired brick with stamps of Type 8, found in a kiln (scale 5 cms)
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

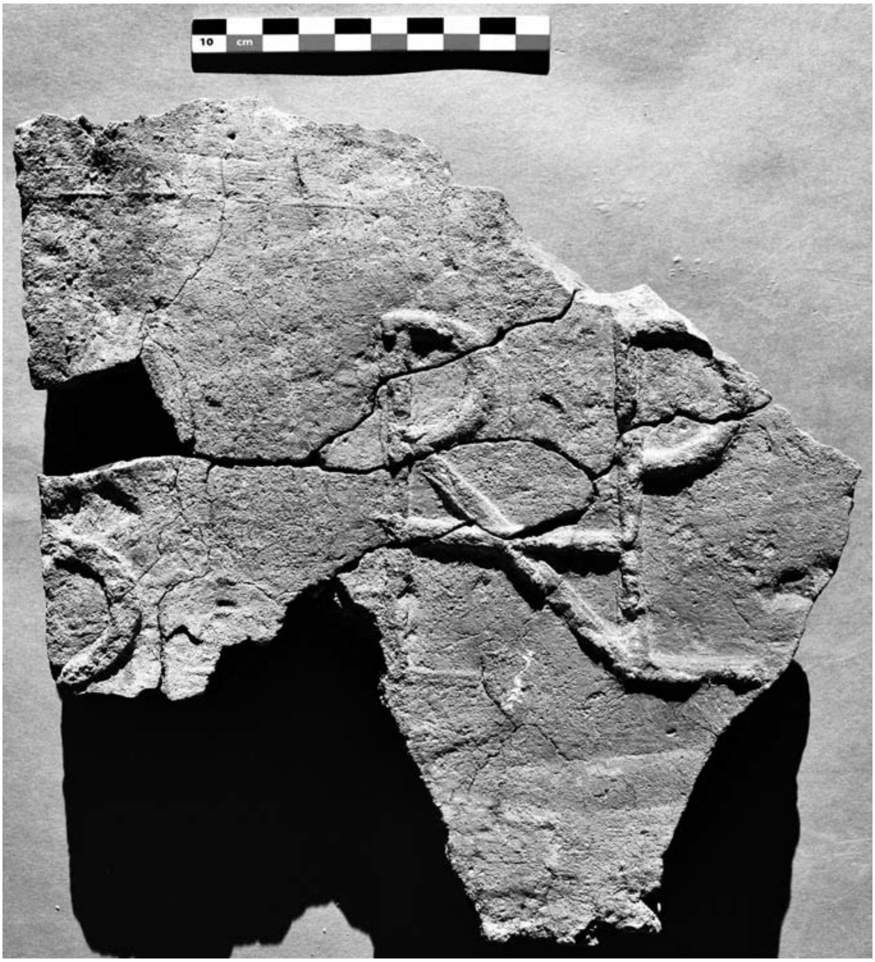

FIGURE 11.3 Gerace, brick used in kiln construction, monogram, PHILIPPIANI (scale 10 cms)
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

FIGURE 11.4
Gerace, inner side of a curved roof tile, monogram, PHILIPPIANI (scale 5 cms)
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

FIGURE 11.5
Gerace, *pila* brick for use in a hypocaust, PHILIPPIANI (scale 5 cms)
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

FIGURE 11.6 Gerace, mosaic in the *frigidarium* of the baths, roundel (diameter 35 cm) containing the monogram PHILIPPIANI
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

FIGURE 11.7 Gerace, stamp on a roof tile (Type 2), monogram in two parts, PHILIPP and IANI (scale 5 cms)
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

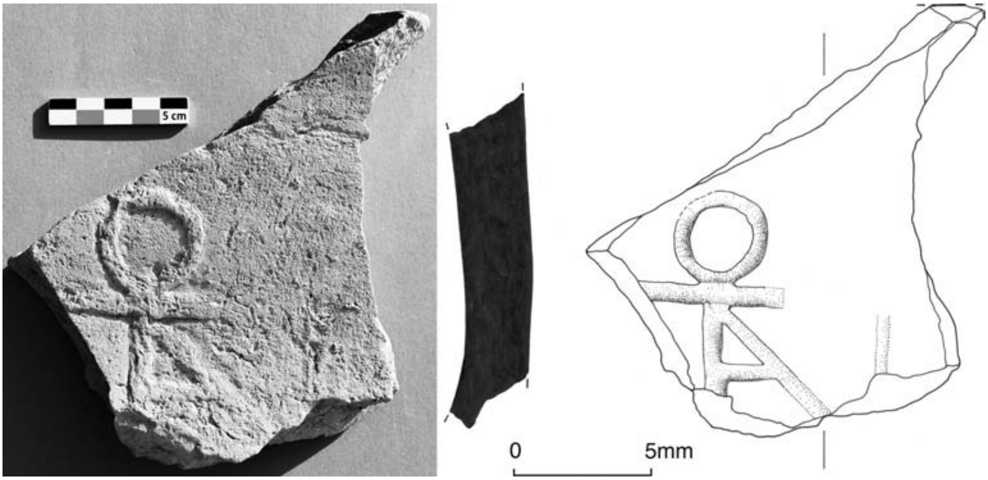

FIGURE 11.8 Gerace, inner side of a curved roof tile, monogram, ANTONINI (?) (left) photograph (scale 5 cms); (right) line drawing
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON; DRAWING BY SALLY CANN

FIGURE 11.9 Gerace, mosaic in the *frigidarium* of the baths, roundel (diameter 35 cm) containing the monogram ASCLEPIADES
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

FIGURE 11.10 Gerace, mosaic in the *frigidarium* of the baths, roundel (diameter 35 cm) containing the monogram CAPITOLINI
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

3 On the History of the Monogram

The word "monogram" most often appears in late Roman scholarship in reference to the Christian symbol which takes the first two letters of Χριστός ("Christ" in Greek) and superimposes them on one another (Fig. 11.11). It is widely used in early Christianity, especially from the Toleration onwards, but also occasionally before.[12] The history of the monogram, however, goes back some 700 years before this, when groups of letters combined together start appearing on coins.[13] Their function is not always understood, nor are all intelligible (at least to us), but sometimes the monogram stood for the issuing city-state, and occasionally (in the case of kingdoms) for the location of the mint;[14] others again denote either the issuing magistrates,[15] or else, and this seems to account for the vast majority of monograms, they denote various officials of the mint responsible for their production.[16] Some of these signs, on both Greek and Roman coins, if consisting of just two or three letters simply conjoined side by side, are best not called monograms at all (although they are often so described[17]) but rather ligatures.[18] Monograms *sensu stricto* require at least some letters to be superimposed on each other to qualify for the label. They become more frequent in the coinage of Alexander the Great and in the successor kingdoms, especially in third century BCE (Fig. 11.12), but they continue to occur later in the Hellenistic period as well.[19] Where we can understand them they always represent abbreviated versions of the names they represent.

12 Mazzoleni (1997). For pre-Constantinian use, Burzachechi (1955–1956).

13 The two principal accounts of the use of monograms in antiquity, on which this section draws heavily, are Gardthausen (1924) and Garipzanov (2018). See also the collected essays in Garipzanov et al. (2017).

14 E.g. Kraay and Hirmer (1966) pl. 211 no. 773, tetradrachm of Mithridates VI, mint-mark of Heraclei(a Ponticus).

15 E.g. Kraay and Hirmer (1966) pl. 120 no. 366, Athens, 86/84 BCE (MAPK[OY] TAM[IOY] = "quaestor"); cf. no. 364 (191/90 BCE). Letters are also used to express numbers (sometimes, but by no means always for a regnal year): De Luca (2015).

16 So De Callataÿ (2012).

17 E.g. Kraay and Hirmer (1966) pl. 187 no. 638, Mausolus 377/53 BCE, ME ligatured (360: "monogram"); Sutherland (1974) 54 (moneyers AVR, VAR, ME, all as ligatures); also Crawford (1974) 209 ("monogram").

18 One of the Gerace stamps, Type 11, for example, ligatures the last two letters (A and N) of PHILIPPIAN: Wilson (2017) 297, fig. 29.

19 E.g. the index of "Greek letters and monograms" (the vast majority the latter) in Price (1991) for coins in the name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaus occupies 61 pages (and has ca. 25 entries per page): 571–631.

FIGURE 11.11 Albenga, baptistery, an example of the use of the Chi Rho monogram, unusually here in triplicate (alluding to the Trinitarian unity of Christ with God and the Holy Spirit). They are accompanied on either side by the Greek letters *alpha* and *omega* (also in triplicate), a reference to Christ's pronouncement that he was "the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last" (*Book of Revelation* 22.13). The blue background, the stars and the birds represent the heavens. Vault mosaic, *in situ*, 500 CE ca
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

The practice of using monograms on coinage continues in the early Roman imperial period on provincial coinage in the East (Fig. 11.13),[20] but on official state coinage they now appeared not as part of the original design but in countermarks. These were control stamps made subsequent to the original issue by commanders or the central administration in special circumstances; they also appear on local provincial coinage as well, usually added by the municipal authorities themselves.[21] On these, space was at a premium in order to

20 The example shown here (Fig. 11.13) is Burnett et al. (1992) 714 no. 4152 (Antioch). Sometimes a monogram occupies the whole field of the reverse design: nos. 1776–1777 (Byzantium), 1784 (Chalcedon), 1930–1931 (Bosporos), 2082 (Nicomedia).

21 Countermarks on imperial state coinage: Sutherland (1984) 10–11. Provincial countermarks: Howgego (1985) 225–236, nos. 604–659 (both Greek and Latin).

FIGURE 11.12 Silver didrachm of Philip V of Macedon (221/179 BCE), reverse, club of Heracles within the oak wreath of Zeus, alluding to the alleged descent of the Macedonian kings from Heracles; trident to left. The legend reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ("[issue of] King Philip"); one monogram above, two below. Diameter 2.6 cm (1 in.). Cleveland Museum of Art, gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust (1917.985)
PHOTO: CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART, THROUGH THE CREATIVE COMMONS ZERO, CC0 1.0 UNIVERSAL PUBLIC DOMAIN LICENSE

make them as small as possible while still being legible, so as to minimize the amount of obliteration of the original coin image; so once again they represent abbreviated versions of names. Issues of Augustus, for example, found at the fort of Haltern on the Lippe deep into Germania Libera, are countermarked by the ill-fated P. Quinctilius Varus (who had earlier stamped provincial coinage with a monogram version of his name in Syria while he was governor there);[22] and coins of Nero were countermarked with Vespasian's name as a sign of his authority in the chaos of the civil wars of 68/9 CE (Fig. 11.14).[23] This is one of the first known monograms which manages to incorporate all the letters of the name (here *Vespasianus*) into a single design, although the S, always tiresome to incorporate into a "box" monogram, is left floating in space at top cen-

22 Syria: Howgego (1985) 235–236, nos. 658–659; Lichtenburger (2009) 162, Abb. 2–3, for other coins struck by him there. Germany: Moosbauer and Wilbers-Rost (2009) 63, Abb. 19; Aßkamp (2009) 179, Abb. 8. Cf. in general Salzmann (2009).

23 Sutherland (1984) 11 (cf. 10 for a Tiberian countermark of a monogrammed CAES(ar) on Augustan *aes* coinage).

FIGURE 11.13 Silver tetradrachm of Augustus, provincial coinage, mint of Antioch, reverse, representation of the Tyche of Antioch facing right, wearing turreted crown and holding a palm branch. The river god Orontes is below. The legend reads ΕΤΟΥΣ ΖΚ (the year 5/ 4 BCE) ΝΙΚΗΣ ("Victory", referring to the Tyche ["Good Fortune"] of Antioch) and the monograms read (possibly) ΥΠΑ ΙΒ (above) and ΑΝΤ or, better, ΤΑΧ (below). Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, David M. Robinson Fund, 1997.150
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON, WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF SUSANNE EBBINGHAUS AND BRITT BOWEN, HARVARD ART MUSEUMS

ter. Incorporating all the letters of a name into a single "box" monogram is a feature of one of the principal types of late Roman monogram, including all the examples from Gerace catalogued above.

Few other media displayed monograms in the early imperial period. There is a group of glass vessels (*balsamaria*) produced in northern Italy between the mid-first and the third century CE that employs them (Fig. 11.15), of which the most elaborate is one that belongs to the reign of either Marcus Aurelius or Caracalla, where the family *nomen* in the genitive case, AVRELII, is handsomely arranged within an oak (?) wreath (the *corona civica*);[24] but otherwise they are rare. Not even stones on signet rings seem to have employed monogrammatic versions of their owners' names, either now or in the Hellenistic period, with few exceptions. Spier has drawn attention to a couple of second-century CE examples, one a sard with a monogram of the name ΠΑΡΑΛΙΟΥ

24 Frova (1971) 41, fig. 7; 40, fig. 4 shows seven other examples of *balsamaria* monograms.

FIGURE 11.14
The countermark on copper-alloy coins of Nero of 68 CE with the name of "Vespasianus" in monogram form, before he had issued coinage under his own name
AFTER GARIPZANOV (2018) 110, FIG. 4.2A

FIGURE 11.15 Glass *balsamarium*, stamp on the base reading VEC(tigal) MONOP(oliu)M P(atrimoni) IMP(eratoris) CAES(aris) M(arci) A(ureli) [Ant]ONINI, indicating that there was a monopoly tax on the value of contents of the bottle (balsam) which was under the exclusive control (*in patrimonio*) of the emperor, either Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, or Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus (Caracalla), i.e. either 161–180 or 211–217. A monogram of the family name AVRELII (in the possessive genitive) is at the center, within a wreath
AFTER FROVA (1971) 41, FIG. 7

("[belonging to] Paralios"), and the other of uncertain reading engraved next to a portrait bust on a red jasper in Oxford (Fig. 11.16), but otherwise monograms are rare in any medium in the second century.[25] In the third century, a discrete group of ring-stones, the vast majority of them made of red jasper, mostly oval in shape but sometimes octagonal, is also known (Fig. 11.17); all bear the owner's name in monogram form in Greek letters (in the possessive genitive), although many of them cannot be read with certainty. Because these are antiquarian (and modern) collectors' items, provenance is rarely if ever recorded; but this

25 Spier (2007) 193 and n. 4 and 5; pl. 141, fig. 28 for the latter.

FIGURE 11.16
Red jasper gemstone with monogram of uncertain reading and a portrait bust, probably mid-second century; width 14.5 mm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1892.1527
AFTER SPIER (2007) PL. 141, FIG. 28

FIGURE 11.17
Octagonal gemstone of red jasper, with central monogram helpfully explained in the legend around the edge: ONOMACTOY. Probably from an Asia Minor workshop in the third century CE; height 12 mm (private collection)
PHOTO: BY JEFFREY SPIER, WITH HIS KIND PERMISSION

group is believed to have been made in Asia Minor, for a Greek-speaking and presumably local, or at most regional, market.[26]

The focus now shifts decisively back towards Rome. It is in Rome that the first examples of monograms in funerary epigraphy on stone or marble first appear, the majority of them found in the catacombs. Dating them precisely is far from easy, but in general terms burials were made in the catacombs around Rome from early in the third century and continued throughout that century and during the whole of the fourth. The practice then tailed off sharply early in the fifth century, when the catacombs became almost exclusively used for

26 Spier (2007) 193–195, with 39 examples, not including (193 n. 6) ten more seen by the author in private collections.

devotional visits to the tombs of the martyrs.[27] By and large, therefore, monogram inscriptions from the catacombs are likely to belong to either the third or the fourth century.[28] One of the earliest is a sarcophagus lid from the catacombs of St. Callixtus, which has a monogram replacing the normal inscription on the central panel; it may read AVRELIO TYRRENO (Fig. 11.18).[29] An accompanying scene depicts Ulysses and the sirens, a pagan choice dictated by its early date, before the development of a specifically Christian iconography.[30] Similar is a fragment from the catacomb of Priscilla, where two monograms appear on the lid panel intended for a conventional inscription (Fig. 11.19).[31] Both were lightly incised first, and then carved more deeply, slightly lower down: RVSTICIVS and RVFILLA.[32] Monograms on sarcophagi are, however, very rare;[33] more normally they occur on ordinary funerary inscriptions, but always in a tiny minority of them. A publication of 330 Christian inscriptions in the Vatican Museums, for example, shows that names expressed in monogram form occur just seven times in all, and of those only three contain all the letters of the name, the rest being abbreviations.[34] Their purpose, as with all monograms,

27 Fiocchi Nicolai et al. (2002) 15–17, 59–60, and 151.

28 Grossi Gondi (1920) 62 ("L'età dei mongrammi") notes that they became more widespread and more complicated (and so more difficult to read) in the fourth century.

29 This is my reading, and all the letters can be made out (some counting up to three times, as often in monograms). *Aurelius* is a common name in catacomb inscriptions after the granting of citizenship by Caracalla, and *Tyrrenus* is an attested *cognomen*: Kajanto (1965) 188. Wilpert (1929, 14–15 with pl. XXV.1) read it as *L. F*(*urio*) *Tyranio*, but *Tyranius* is not a *cognomen* listed by Kajanto.

30 Bisconti and Gentili (2007) 118–119, no. 9 (B. Mazzei).

31 Fiocchi Nicolai et al. (2002) 159, pl. 163; cf. also Marucchi (1912) pl. IV.6 and 8. This has been read as *Rusticus* (e.g. by the two sources cited here), but since the right stroke of the V continues to ascend above the S, and changes direction to become vertical, an additional I is surely present (for *Rusticius*, Kajanto [1965] 311). Garipzanov (2018) 114, fig. 4.4c also reads it as *Rusticius*.

32 A fragment of the adjoining sculpture shows a young boy with an upright torch, probably an *eros*. Normally their torches are held reversed, but there are exceptions: Koch and Sichtermann (1982) 208.

33 A further example is mentioned by Mazzoleni (1997) 165 (Κη[ν]σωρεῖνος), but this is a form of monogram where the K appears at the center and all the letters are arranged in a circular pattern around it, with no letters overlapping (Grossi Gondi [1920] 61, fig. 38.10).

34 Zilliacus (1963a) nos. 107 (with two), 159, 187, 224, 228, and 262, discussed in Bruun (1963) 126–129, interpreted as *Bellatori*, *C*(*al*)*p*(*urni*)*a* (but only the letters CAP are shown, so there are other possibilities), Κω(νσ)τ(αντιᾳ), Ζωτικ(ή or ός), *Tauri*(*l*)*io* (but no L is visible: *Renato* is an alternative reading), *Renatae*, and one that is indecipherable (interpreted as *Quobbul*[*us*]). Additional examples include Grossi Gondi (1920) 60–62 with figs. 38–39 on 61 (box monograms reported there, containing all the letters of the name, include Ἀγάπη and *Agrippinus* (but *Iulius Agrippa* is an equally possible reading), while others are attrac-

FIGURE 11.18
Rome, Catacomb of St Callixtus, lid of a sarcophagus with a monogram AVRELIO TYRRENO (?) on the panel designed to take a conventional inscription, early third century CE; 19 cm high. Inv. CAL 580a
AFTER BISCONTI AND GENTILI (2007) 118, NO. 9

seems to have been merely to treat the personal name in a special way, giving it distinctiveness and making it stand out from the general run of formulaic texts. A rare example of a box monogram in a non-funerary Christian context is that which occurs on a threshold close to the entrance to the church of San Sebastiano on the Via Appia south of Rome (Fig. 11.20). It might refer to the Emperor Constantine, but can equally well be read as the name of one of his sons, either Constantine II, or Constans, or Constantius II.[35]

Aside from the abundant Christian material, examples of monograms in the fourth century in pagan contexts (and above ground) are not particularly common, although some are items of extraordinary interest. A *mithraeum* recently excavated at Ostia, datable as late 375/400 CE, has produced some examples of

tive designs arranging all the letters around one central one but not overlapping them at all: figs. 38.8–9 and see previous note); Mazzoleni (1997) 165 (mentioning in addition monograms of *Severus* from the catacomb of Commodilla, *Theoclia ka*(*ra*) from the catacomb of SS. Pietro and Marcellino and *Irene* in the Vatican Museums); and Garipzanov (2018) 112–115 with figs. 4.3–4 and 4.9, illustrating Πρῖμα, *Avite*, *Alethius*, *Gaudentia*, *Bonifatius*, Πρίσκος, and some of more uncertain reading, *Petronia* (?), *Navira* (?), *Eufentine* (?), and *Leonis* (but the last does not take account of the presence of a C; could *Coeliani* be a possibility?). For another from Rome (350/400 CE), also of uncertain reading (*Laurentiae*?), Friggeri et al. (2012) 573, no. IX.28, but I see no E here, and would suggest instead *Lauridi* ("to Lauris"); for the name, cf. Zilliacus (1963a) 165, no. 202.

35 Ferrua (1961) 231–232; Nieddu (2008) 55 and 303, fig. 56.

FIGURE 11.19 Rome, Catacomb of St Priscilla, fragment of a sarcophagus with two monograms, RUSTICIVS and RVFILLA; third century (?)
AFTER FIOCCHI NICOLAI ET AL. (2002) 159, FIG. 163

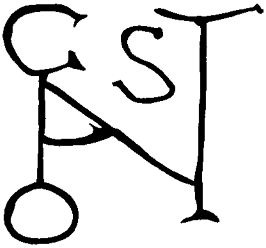

FIGURE 11.20
Rome, San Sebastiano, threshold slab bearing a monogram recording the Emperor Constantine or one of his sons; presumably first half of the fourth century. *In situ*
AFTER LA REGINA (2008) 303, FIG. 36

the name of the god written in monogrammatic form,[36] but this is an example of an abbreviation of the name, not a "box" monogram containing all the letters (as in the Gerace examples). The same is true of the monogram which is the most commonly found of all (apart from the *chi rho*) in the second half of the fourth century and in the first half of the fifth (Fig. 11.21). It uses several letters superimposed, of which a P and an E are the most prominent, but which probably also include an L and a T (albeit without indicating the left-hand part of the latter's horizontal stroke). The most plausible interpretation of this is that it stands for P(*alma*) ET L(*aurus*), "the palm and the laurel"—the palm branch and the laurel crown that were standard prizes of victory in many ludic competitions.[37] They start appearing with great frequency from the mid-fourth century on the bronze medallions known as contorniates. The precise function of these is uncertain (they may have had more than one), but many issues seem to have been closely associated with the circus, possibly as good-luck tokens given out to spectators.[38] Some P ET L monograms are in relief, others incuse; the latter type was filled with silver inlay, as rare examples with it still surviving show.[39] The same monogram appears as well, occasionally, in other media, where it was adopted as an all-purpose apotropaic symbol: it occurs, for example, on a Christian funerary stone of 363 CE along with other good-luck emblems (one at the end of each line), including the palm branch, the sun, and the swastika,[40] and there are scattered other examples on non-Christian inscriptions, sculpture, lamps, and mosaics.[41] Although the P ET L design is by far the most frequent monogram used on contorniates,[42] there occur occa-

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36 David (2020) 108; Melega (2020) 113–114 with fig. 11.1.

37 Marrou (1941) with discussion of theories prior to that date on 123–125. Guarducci (1958, 411–485) suggested that the monogram was an abbreviated form of the name of (Saint) Peter, but this has not gained wide acceptance. For a full discussion, Alföldi and Alföldi (1990) 309–311.

38 For the most recent discussions of the function of contorniates, Krmnicek (2016) 7–9; Dunbabin (2016) 261–262. Fig. 11.21 is Krmnicek (2016) 26 Kat. no. 17.

39 E.g. Krmnicek (2016) 15, no. 6.

40 Alföldi and Alföldi (1990) Taf. 236.1 (Rome, San Salvatore in Corte) = Garipzanov (2018) 117, fig. 4.7. Another is Di Stefano Manzella (1997) 307–308, no. 3.9.1b with plate.

41 Non-Christian inscriptions (e.g. one in Colosseum: Garipzanov [2018] 117, fig. 4.6); sculpture (e.g. on the hindquarters of an ox ploughing, on a marble group in Berlin); lamps (Cosentino and Ricciardi [1993] no. 80; Paleani [1993] nos. 6, 16, 27, and 31–32); the mosaic examples are one in the Square of the Corporations (destroyed) and another in the House of the Dioscuri, both at Ostia: full catalog in Alföldi and Alföldi (1990) 307–309 with Taf. 239–240.

42 Alföldi and Alföldi (1990) 276–312 illustrate 631 examples.

FIGURE 11.21 Contorniate, obverse, depicting the bust of the Emperor Trajan (the legend reads *divo Traiano Augusto*) with an incuse monogram alongside, probably reading P(*alma*) ET L(*aurus*) ("the palm and the laurel"); mid-fourth to early fifth century CE (Münzsammlung des Instituts für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Tübingen). Diameter 40 mm (scale 20 mm)
PHOTO COURTESY OF PROF. STEFAN KRMNICEK, UNIVERSITY OF TÜBINGEN

sionally on them examples of name-monograms of charioteers and horses, but some of these are certainly late in the series, not until the second quarter of the fifth century.[43]

Monograms were also used by the fourth-century senatorial elite. By far the most spectacular is the signature on the title page of the *Calendar of 354*, known to us from seventeenth-century manuscript copies in the Vatican and the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels (Fig. 11.22).[44] The monogram's reading is not in doubt, as it is spelled out in tiny letters within the pair of dovetail

43 E.g. Alföldi and Alföldi (1976) nos. 161, 177, 187, 462, 476 (the last two of Valentinian III, 425–455 CE), and 511.9; cf. also no. 199.27a, 223.2, and 300.17; (1990) Taf. 228.8–9; 274.4–8. Some may have been made deliberately indecipherable to prevent curses from opponents, designed to impede the success of both (named) riders and horses in the games. Examples of such circus *defixiones* from Rome include Friggeri (2012) 602–612, IX.44–46.

44 Stern (1953) 122–123 and pl. I; Salzman (1991) 26 and 202–205 with figs. 1, 27, and 29; Weidemann and Weidemann (2016) 123 and 135–136, who offered a new reconstruction of its original appearance in Taf. 1. This last book dates Philocalus' work on the manuscript to 356/60 CE rather than earlier.

FIGURE 11.22 The title page of the *Calendar of 354*, with the monogram signature of Furius Dionysius Filocalus at center top (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale)
AFTER STERN (1953) PL. 1

handles on either side of the central *tabula ansata*, which is set immediately below the monogram and held up by *erotes*. FVRIVS DIONISIVS FILOCALVS TITVLAVIT it reads, i.e. "Furius Dionysius Filocalus inscribed [it]."[45] All the letters, not just the name, are present within the monogram. Furius Dionysius Filocalus is known to have been the calligrapher of Pope Damasus and responsible for developing a new and very distinctive style of epigraphic letter forms, seen in over a dozen or so very elegant and unmistakable inscriptions still surviving in the catacombs and elsewhere.[46] His reputation was surely already high by the time of his work on the *Calendar* in the 350s, for the "Filocalus" part of his name ("the lover of the beautiful [writing]") must have been an *agnomen* given to him as a mark of his prowess, and not from birth.[47] Monograms also appear at the center of each of a set of eight silver plates (four circular and four rectangular) in the Esquiline Treasure in the British Museum, part of the wedding service for Turcius and Proiecta: the names of the couple are shown in monogram form side by side (Fig. 11.23).[48] If this is the Proiecta who was married at 16 but who died shortly afterwards, in 383 CE,[49] these examples are likely

45 The meaning of *titulavit* (otherwise only attested in *CIL* VIII.4487), and so of Filocalus' whole role in the *Calendar*, is much debated (see next note). *Titulus* can mean "inscription" but it also can mean "title" and even "section" of a book. It is not therefore clear if Filocalus was the scribe of the whole work, the illustrator of it or parts of it, or merely prepared the title page.

46 Ferrua (1939) and (1942); and more recently Trout (2015) 47–52. About fourteen inscriptions are reckoned to be of "exemplary" Filocalian style, but there are more which are "semi-Filocalian" imitations: see Trout (2015) 50 n. 206.

47 So Ferrua (1939) 42; Cameron (1992) 141; Trout (2015) 48.

48 Dalton (1901) 71–72, nos. 312–319; Kent and Painter (1977) 46–47, nos. 91–92 (late fourth century); Shelton (1981) 32–33 and 80–81, nos. 5–12 with pls. 26–27 (mid-fourth century). The most famous piece of the Treasure, the casket, is inscribed "(*chi-rho*) SECVNDE ET PROIECTA VIVATIS IN CHRISTO." It makes therefore sense, along with Dalton, and with Kent and Painter, to read the monogram on the silver plates as referring to the same couple—"PROIECTA TVRCI" according to Dalton and Kent and Painter, following Visconti (1827), i.e. "Proiecta, wife of Turcius" (or is it "PROIECTAE (et) TURCII," "[property of] Proiecta and Turcius," using some letters twice?). The T is not clearly defined in the first but the left-hand part of a T is missing on other monograms too, such as the P ET L one discussed above (and also in the gem in Fig. 11.24 if a T is correctly read there). Shelton (1981) 33, followed by Buckton (1994) 34–35, nos. 11–12, and Garipzanov (2018) 123, read it, however, as Pelegrina, whose name also appears as a jug in the Treasure.

49 Proiecta: *PLRE* I, 750. Turcius Secundus: *PLRE* I, 817 (no. 4). For the epitaph of Proiecta, Trout (2015) 180–182, no. 51 with earlier references. Shelton's chronology for the silver treasure (1981, 53–55), in the mid-fourth century, was rightly challenged by Cameron (1985); cf. also Shelton (1985). On the debate, Painter (2000) and Trout (2015) 181–182. The identification of the Proiecta of the epitaph with the Proiecta of the casket (and the monogram) rests on translating *primo* and *prima* in line 6 of the former as "exceptional" (an intentional

FIGURE 11.23
Rome, Esquiline treasure, drawing of the design at the center of a rectangular plate (one of four): within a laurel wreath, two monograms, probably reading PROIECTA TURCI ("Proiecta wife of Turcius") or PROIECTAE TURCI ("[property of] Proiecta [and] Turcius"); late fourth century CE (London, British Museum)
AFTER DALTON (1901) 71, NO. 312

FIGURE 11.24
Provenance unknown (Rome?), cornelian gemstone reading in retrograde TERENTI (?), accompanied by images of (right to left) bird, wreath and fish, probably late fourth century; width 15 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2167)
AFTER SPIER (2007) PL. 37, CAT. NO. 307

to be more or less contemporary with the monograms at Gerace. Finger rings of the same date with names in monogram form are surprisingly few, but Jeffrey Spier has identified one, reading TERENTI (?) in retrograde (Fig. 11.24): he suggests that it is "a rare example of Western origin (probably Rome) and fourth century date."[50]

It is noteworthy that every one of the examples of fourth-century monograms discussed above (where the provenance is known, which is the vast majority) comes from Rome or its immediate environs.[51] They are simply not to be found anywhere in the Roman provinces at this date, apart from two places:

foil to "Secundus," the name of her husband?), rather than reckoning that it provides the actual name of her husband, Primus (so Ferrua [1942] 204), in which case the two Proiectas cannot be one and the same person.

50 Spier (2007) 50, no. 307 with pl. 37, who suggests that the form of the monogram is best attested in the late fourth or fifth century. Di Giuseppe (2014, 220, fig. 2.4) publishes a bronze ring with monogram engraved on the bezel from Baricelle near Grumentum and dates it (224) to the "3rd–4th century AD"; but this ring is of a type not earlier than the mid-fifth century (see note 59 below); Jeffrey Spier kindly informs me (pers. comm. May 21, 2020) that in his opinion this ring belongs to the sixth century.

51 The handful of examples of monogram brick- and tile-stamps in Sicily (Garozzo [2011] 712–719, lists five) are all certainly or probably of Hellenistic date. I know of no Sicilian parallels for the late Roman use of box-monograms of the Gerace type.

those at Gerace, and the ones discovered in 1928 at the Roman villa at Cuevas de Soria in northern Spain, probably also of the late fourth century.[52] The latter is also the only other instance, apart from Gerace, of the occurrence of monograms on mosaic floors anywhere in the Roman Empire.[53] At Cuevas de Soria, however, ninety-two years on from their discovery, the two monograms await decipherment. One at the center of the large hall in the middle of the east wing might possibly be an amalgam of Greek letters (Fig. 11.25);[54] the other occurs multiple times in the villa, in five separate rooms, but is equally hard to read (Figs. 11.26–27).[55]

The later history of the monogram in antiquity need not concern us in detail.[56] Theodosius II, towards the end of his reign, was the first emperor to put his name in monogram form on bronze coinage ca. 445. His successors duly followed suit, although it was another fifteen years before western mints issued monogram types.[57] Each Roman emperor designed a new box-monogram for these coins at the start of his reign. The practice seems to have ushered in a

52 Blázquez and Ortego (1983) nos. 55, 57, 60, 63, and 64 with 96, fig. 6; 98, fig. 9; and pl. 25 (79: "una buena parte … ejecutada a finales del siglo IV d.C. o a comienzos del siglo V d.C.").

53 There is a handful of post-Roman (Byzantine/early medieval) mosaic monograms: see below, with notes 79–81.

54 Museo Arqueológico Nacional (2001) 110–111 ("mediados del siglo IV": contrast note 52) = Blázquez and Ortego (1983) no. 57. Could the letters read ΠΑΥΛΛΙΙ or similar?

55 Four are Blázquez and Ortego (1983) nos. 55, 60, 63, and 64 (with partial drawings but no photographs); a fifth uses the monogram in a repeat pattern (in black on white) over an entire floor (unpublished: here Fig. 11.27). An O, two Cs, and two Is seem clear; whether the central "hayfork," which protrudes from the circular frame at the top (always), is also a letter (a T?) is uncertain but likely. IRRICO has been suggested (Fernández Galiano [2011] 203–204), but that does not account for the second C (or the "T"), nor is it an attested name. The widely occurring Cocceius might be attractive, but there is no E (and only one Coccius is known, in Dalmatia), nor does it account for the "T." Toccius ("the Toccii") might be a possibility, but only one is certainly attested (*L*(*uci*) *Tocci Flavini discens*: *AE* [2005] 1056; cf. also [1895] 105d); the female version Toccia is also known. A senatorial Tocius (with just one c) is attested in the mid-fourth century (Tocius Maximus, *vir clarissimus*), and another rather earlier (C. Lievrius Tranquillius Tocius), but neither with known Spanish connections (*PLRE* I, 589 and 845). Decipherment eludes.

56 Garipzanov (2018) 131–241 for a full survey.

57 Kent (1994) nos. 462–465, 535–570, 681–697, 719–723, 958–976, 1014–1018, 1034, 2715–2717, 2857–2865, 3222, 3501–3502, and 3785 are the issues down to 491 CE; see fold-out at the back of the book for monogram types. For the use of monograms on coins down into the seventh century, Garipzanov (2017); and for a royal seal ring of amethyst with portrait and monogram (of Theodoric II?), Weitzmann (1979) 58–59, no. 56 (J.D. Breckenridge). Monarchs used monograms sporadically on their coinage even later, including Alfred the Great and Charlemagne: Guerrero (2015) 18–19, figs. 7–8.

FIGURE 11.25 Cuevas de Soria, Roman villa, detail of a mosaic from a room in the middle of the east wing; monogram in the central panel (Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional)
PHOTO COURTESY OF PROFESSOR JOSÉ-ANTONIO ABÁSOLO, UNIVERSITY OF VALLADOLID

FIGURE 11.26 Cuevas de Soria, Roman villa, detail of a mosaic panel in a room in the north wing; *in situ*
PHOTO COURTESY OF SORIAMUSÉUM, CUEVAS DE SORIA

FIGURE 11.27
Cuevas de Soria, Roman villa, detail of a mosaic panel in a room in the west wing; *in situ*
PHOTO COURTESY OF SORIAMUSÉUM, CUEVAS DE SORIA

craze for their use in the second half of the fifth century, which extends throughout the sixth century and into the seventh: monograms now appeared on a bewilderingly wide range of media. They are found, for example, not only on bricks,[58] finger rings[59] and silverware,[60] but on belt-buckles,[61] saddle gear,[62]

58 E.g. many examples in the brick stamps of Constantinople (Bardill [2004]; also Harrison and Hill [1986] 215–216) and Thessalonike (Vickers [1973]); cf. also the bricks of bishop Sabinus, bishop of Canosa (southern Italy) in the sixth century (Favia et al. [2015] 534–535 with fig. 10). References (here and in notes 59–78) give only random examples, mostly with bibliographies.

59 E.g. Dalton (1901) 27–29, nos. 168–188; Vikan (1987) 39–40; Wamser and Zahlhaas (1998) 219, no. 321 and 222–224, nos. 329–334 (late sixth to early eighth century); Althaus and Sutcliffe (2006) 167, nos. 107–109; Spier (2010) 15–17 (cf. 15: "Also around this date [the mid- to late fifth century], ring bezels began to be engraved with personal names and monograms, a fashion that became increasingly popular"). For an example, see note 50 above.

60 Silver dishes and spoons: in the Lampsacus and Cyprus Treasures: Dalton (1901) 82, nos. 378–380 and 86, no. 397. Spoons alone: 78, nos. 348–350 and 354; Daim et al. (2017) 138–139 and 148, nos. IV.111 and 116 with Taf. 79.4 and 84.4. Dish (of Nektarios Kandidatos [?]): Effenberger and Severin (1992) 143, no. 55 (ca. 550 CE).

61 Seventh-century gold example reading ΑΓΑΠΙΟΥ: Entwhistle (2010) 20, no. 1 (citing others in Athens, Baltimore, and Washington DC in gold or silver). Bronze examples: Dalton (1901) 115, nos. 584–586.

62 On a gold saddle fitting, probably 550/600 CE (ΒΑΡΔΑΝΟΥϹ): Wamser and Zahlhaas (1998) 146–147, no. 163.

pottery,[63] plaster,[64] wood,[65] ivory diptychs,[66] weights of copper-alloy[67] and glass,[68] glass discs,[69] lead seals,[70] altar supports (Fig. 11.28),[71] architectural capitals and decorative piers (Fig. 11.29),[72] and on crosses,[73] candle-holders,[74] and other church furniture.[75] A notable change was that the designs on rings, from the second half of the fifth century onwards, were generally incised not into an inlaid gemstone but on the flat metal surface of the bezel itself. Then, just before the beginning of Justinian's reign,[76] came the introduction of a new type of monogram, the cross- or cruciform-type, which came to be used in all media in addition to the box-monogram (Fig. 11.30).[77] Monograms continue in occasional use on some items into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[78]

63 Dalton (1901) 163, no. 930.
64 Dalton (1901) 170–171, nos. 963–965 (to seal wine amphorae).
65 Dalton (1901) 173, no. 982.
66 See note 83.
67 E.g. Buckton (1994) 86–87, nos. 79–81; Wamser and Zahlhaas (1998) 158–159, nos. 187 and 191–192 (sixth century).
68 E.g. Buckton (1994) 87–90, nos. 82–91; Wamser and Zahlhaas (1998) 163–164, nos. 209–210 (sixth and seventh centuries).
69 Whitehouse (2003) 33–37, nos. 927–939 ("weights or tokens").
70 E.g. Althaus and Sutcliffe (2006) 176–178, nos. 152–159, all second half of the sixth century/seventh century (monogram names of Gannadios, Georgios, Sabba, Basilios etc.).
71 Fig. 11.28 is in a chapel in the Baptistery at Grado: Zovatto (1948); Farioli Campanati (1982) 164, pl. 89 and 178–180, no. 37 (monogram of Probinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, 569–570). Zovatto read it as Provinus, assuming the V was standing in for a B, although normal practice in late Latin is vice versa (B for V). The alternative is to interpret the S at top left as serving also as a surrogate B.
72 For Justinianic examples in churches at Constantinople, Stroth (2017); elsewhere, e.g. Gortyn (Crete), mid-sixth century: Farioli Campanati and Bourboudakis (2005) 170 with fig. 8. Marble piers: e.g. from St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople, and two complete examples now in Venice: Harrison and Hill (1986) 121, 133, 162, fig. L and 165; 211, B11 and 215–216 C11–16 (S.J. Hill) (Istanbul) (one is Fig. 11.29 here); Harrison (1989) 100–102, with pls. 118, 122–123 (Venice): pre-Justinianic (524/26 CE). See also Garipzanov (2018) 160–167.
73 E.g. Bisconti and Gentili (2007) 172–173, no. 37, of gold (but monograms not illustrated); Daim et al. (2017) 149–151, no. IV.117 with Taf. 85.1.
74 E.g. a copper-alloy polycandelon of 550/650 CE from Syria in London: Buckton (1994) 106–107, no. 116.
75 E.g. the ivory throne in Ravenna (monogram of bishop Maximinian, 540–556 CE), and the marble screen-slab in S. Clemente, Rome (monogram of Pope John II): Farioli Campanati (1982) 152–153, pls. 61–62 and 91, pl. 91; for the former, see also Volbach (1976) 93–94 with Taf. 73.
76 They first appear on bronze coins struck at Constantinople and Antioch in the reign of Justin II: Philipps and Tyler Smith (1998) 318 and 322, nos. 316–376.
77 Cf. Spier (2010) 15–16 (and n. 59 above). The example in Fig. 11.30 is Mundell Mango (1986) 276, no. 103.
78 E.g. cruciform monograms on a marble capital and a gold ring, both ca. thirteenth/fifteenth century: Buckton (1994) 197 and 199, nos. 211 and 215.

FIGURE 11.28 Grado, baptistery next to the Duomo, marble altar-table support, relief decoration of a cross flanked by peacocks and doves (the latter with olive branches in their beaks), with a monogram at the center referring to Probinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, 569–570; *in situ*
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

On mosaic floors, however, they are always rare, the only examples known to me being the two of Patriarch Elihas (Elijah) at Grado in the late sixth century (Fig. 11.31);[79] but a vault mosaic of the third quarter of the fifth century, in the Neonian Baptistry at Ravenna, and another of uncertain date in the same city, also bore monogram signatures,[80] and papal ones feature in church apse mosaics at Rome in the early ninth century.[81]

79 Grado, S. Euphemia (Duomo): Forlati Tamaro et al. (1980) 287, pls. 242 (in the *Salutatorium*) and 243 (chapel of bishop Marcian).

80 The latter is in the Archbishop's Chapel (Poetschke [2010] 31, fig. 29): see Garipzanov (2018) 192–194 for discussion of both Ravenna sites and their monograms.

81 Leo III: apse in the First Lateran *triclinium*, restored in the eighteenth century: Poetschke (2010) 21, fig. 16 (but the original monogram before its destruction was recorded in drawings by P. Ugonio: Curzi [2016] 143, figs. 2–3); Pascal I (817–824), signatures in the crown of apses in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, in Santa Maria in Domnica, and in Santa Prassede: Poetschke (2010) 191, fig. 70; 193, fig. 71; and pls. 76–77.

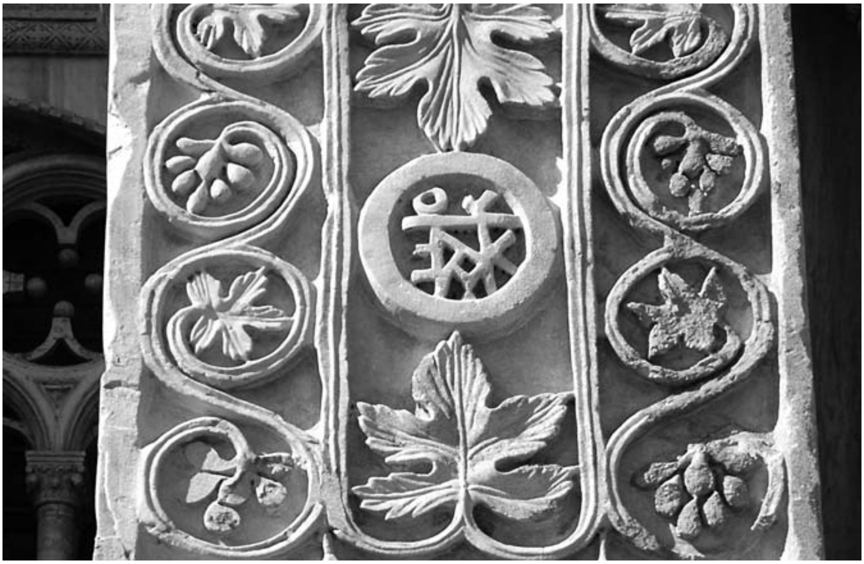

FIGURE 11.29 Venice, Piazza San Marco, the western pier of two which were taken in the early thirteenth century from the church of St Polyeuktos in Constantinople (modern Istanbul); detail of monogram. Originally read as ΤΑΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ, "(work of) the new Peter," referring to the Eastern Emperor Justin (518–527), during whose reign the church was built (524/6 ca.), it is now read as ἉΓΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ, "(belonging to) Saint Polyeuktos."
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

FIGURE 11.30
Cyprus, silver dish with niello inlay, made between 610 and 613 CE during the reign of the Eastern Emperor Heraclius (610–641 CE), as indicated by stamps on the reverse; diameter 26 cm. The cruciform monogram reads in Greek ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ Α(?) "(belonging to) Theodore A …" (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 57.652)
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

FIGURE 11.31 Grado, Duomo, chapel of Bishop Marcian, mosaic floor with central monogram referring to HELIAS EPISCOPVS, "Bishop Elijah," the Patriarch of Aquileia (571–586) in succession to Probinus (see Fig. 11.28), and who consecrated the Duomo in 579 CE; *in situ*
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

4 Discussion

So where did Philippianus, sitting in his country estate in the middle of Sicily, learn the idea of making monograms when the practice was almost unknown in the provinces? There are two possibilities. One of his monogram stamps, attested on a single roof tile and three times on a brick (1a–b above: Figs 11.1–2), is tiny, only 16 mm across. Both the shape and the size recall the late fourth-century gemstone mentioned above with the monogram TERENTI (?) in reverse, 15 mm wide, which surely acted as the owner's seal-stone (Fig. 11.24). Philippianus might have owned just such an item, personalized with his monogrammed name on it, the version of it surviving on tile and brick being a copy. The practice of using monogram seal-rings is likely to have been more common among the élite than the surviving record of actual rings of this period would suggest. Symmachus, for example, writing a letter to Virius Nicomachus Flavianus before 394, alludes to his own signet-ring monogram: "Of course, I am equally keen to learn if you have received all my letters sealed with that ring, on which it is easier to understand [the gist of] my name than it is actu-

ally to read it."[82] The passage also demonstrates that interpreting a monogram was often tricky, even for contemporaries. We know what this particular monogram looked like because it appears at the head of the surviving leaf of an ivory diptych (Fig. 11.32). The diptych probably commemorated the death of a member of the family, if not the letter-writer then another senatorial Symmachus in the fifth century.[83] As it happens, by a curious coincidence, Virius Nicomachus Flavianus' son, also called Nicomachus Flavianus, is known to have revised a text of Livy on an estate near Enna around 400 CE.[84] Philippianus can be regarded as a landowner of only moderate means (judging from the sizes of his excavated villa and bath-house), and it seems doubtful that he belonged to the sort of elevated social circle which would have seen him mix with a senatorial grandee such as Nicomachus Flavianus. Nevertheless, the possibility remains that Philippianus learned the idea of monograms from another landowner friend in Sicily who owned just such a signet ring as Symmachus'.

The other possibility is that Philippianus might have seen monograms in Rome, whether on (circus?) contorniates, on finger rings, or on silver plate (if he moved in those circles), but not perhaps in catacombs, unless he was keen on visiting the shrines of the martyrs (we have no evidence for his religious faith). Is there any evidence, therefore, to think that he might have had business interests in Rome?

Three monograms in the catalogue above (1f, 4, and 5) feature in roundels in the *frigidarium* mosaic in the baths (Fig. 11.33). The fourth monogram is destroyed (in antiquity, probably by earthquake damage in the fifth century, or

82 *Ep.* II.12.1: *Non minore sane cura cupio cognoscere, an omnes obsignatas epistulas meas sumpseris eo anulo, quo nomen meum magis intellegi quam legi promptum est.*

83 Except that the monogram on the ivory reads SYMMACHORVM rather than SYMMACHI because otherwise the O is not explainable. Buckton (1994) 57–58, no. 44 (A. Eastmond) and Abbondanza (2014) follow Cameron (1986) in suggesting it shows the apotheosis of Symmachus (*praefectus Urbi* in 384 and the letter writer: *PLRE* I, 865–871) who died in 402; but all other ivory diptychs with monograms (six) fall in the period 487/530 CE (Volbach [1976] nos. 6, 12–15, and 31), and there are other (stylistic) grounds for dating this diptych to later in the fifth century. Kiilerich (2012) argues that it commemorated the Symmachus who was consul in 485 CE and who was executed in 525 (*PLRE* II, 1044–1046); but there are other Symmachi who held high office in the fifth century, like the one who was consul in 446 (*PLRE* II, 1042–1043). Cf. also Volbach (1976) 52, no. 56 with Taf. 28 (second half of fifth century: 460s?).

84 *Subscriptio* to Livy VII: *apud Hennam*. Presumably the estate was owned by Nicomachus Flavianus, but Cameron (2011) 522–523 has suggested that, because the manuscript belonged to Symmachus, Nicomachus might have been working in a villa belonging to the former rather than his own.

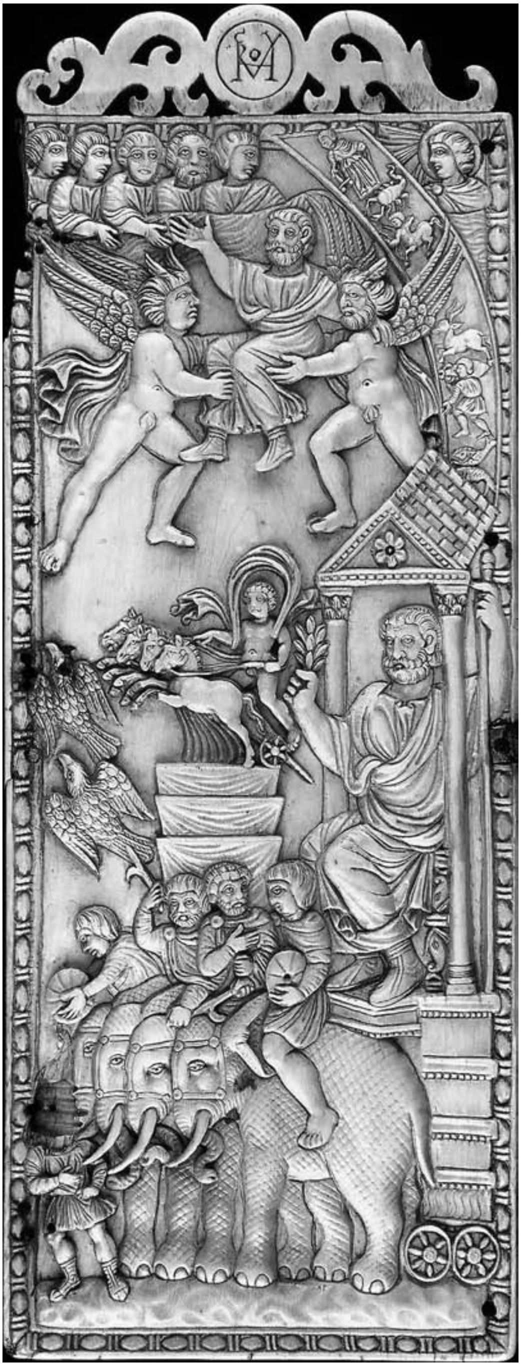

FIGURE 11.32
Provenance unknown (Rome?), a leaf from a diptych depicting the apotheosis of a Symmachus, possibly second half of the fifth century, with the family monogram at the top reading SYMMACHORVM ("of the Symmachi"); height 27.7 cms (London, British Museum)
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM (1857, 1013.1)

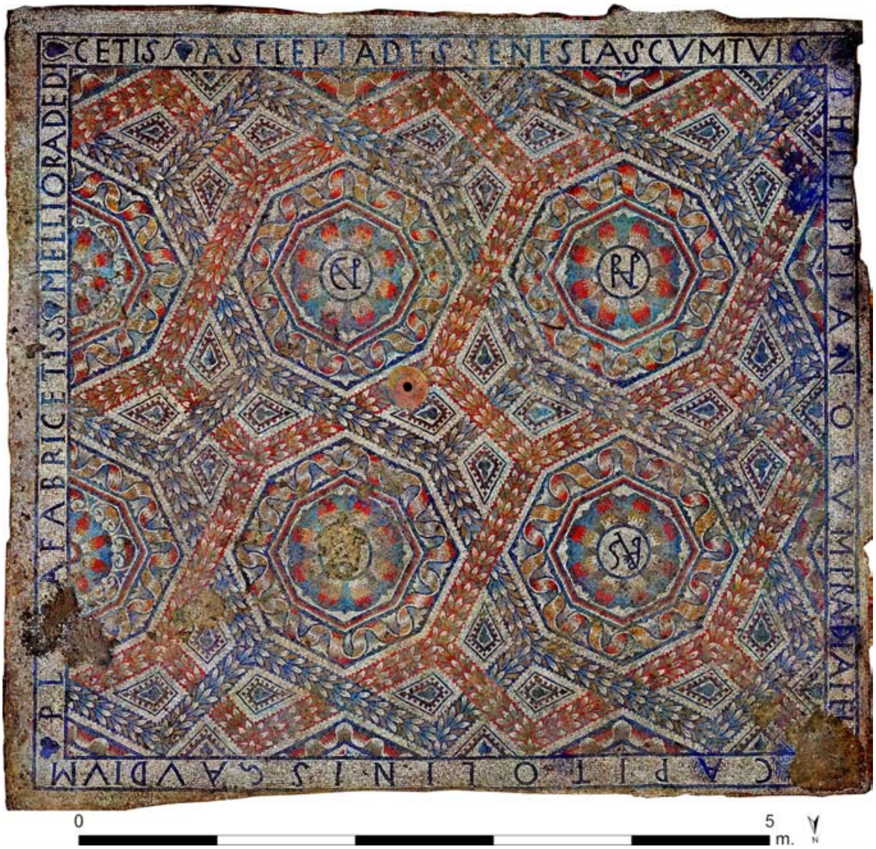

FIGURE 11.33 Gerace, the mosaic in the *frigidarium* of the baths; north is at the bottom (scale 5 m)
PHOTO: DR LORENZO ZURLA (RAGUSA)

through builders' carelessness in the aftermath[85]), and we cannot know what monogram it contained; but the other three are referred to in the content of the inscription around the sides of the floor, and no other names are mentioned there, so the missing roundel may well have carried a repeat of PHILIPPIANI. The inscription is of extraordinary interest. It reads:

85 There was a short-lived attempt to repair the baths and the builders were still at work when a decision was taken to abandon the project and the baths: Wilson (2020) and (forthcoming). The earthquake cannot be more closely dated than 450/500 CE.

PHILIPPIANORVM PRAEDIA FELI[cia]
[*hedera*?] (*palma*) CAPITOLINIS GAVDIVM
(*hedera*) PL[ur]A FABRICETIS (*hedera*) MELLIORA DEDI
(*hedera*) CETIS ASCLEPIADES SENESCAS CVM TVIS (*hedera*)

May the estate of the Philippiani prosper! Joy to the Capitolini (or: "Joy at the Capitolines"). May you build more, may you dedicate better things. Asclepiades, may you grow old with your family.

We do not know who Asclepiades was,[86] but it is reasonable to imagine him as either the son (now grown to maturity?) or the son-in-law of Philippianus, and representing a younger generation of the family. Perhaps as a result of this, the estate had changed its name from the *praedia Philippiani* (as reflected on the tile-stamps) to the *praedia Philippianorum*. Indeed, since the mosaic monograms for ASCLEPIADES and CAPITOLINI are clearly in the nominative, PHILIPPIANI here must also be taken as nominative plural and so a reflection of the updated estate name, rather than genitive singular. It might therefore be asked why this change had not been accompanied by the production of a fresh batch of bricks and tiles, to reflect the new estate title.[87] It is striking that in the villa only the dining room and the south corridor had been paved in mosaic (the west corridor by contrast retained an earth surface to the end of its life), and that one of the intended three pools in the *frigidarium* of the baths was never installed; nor was the decoration of the walls of this room ever finished. So did Philippianus in fact die while construction was still in progress, and then Asclepiades lost interest in the project, moved elsewhere and/or died himself? Both baths and villa, however, continued in use into the second half of the fifth century.

Particularly intriguing is the inscription on the north side of the *frigidarium* mosaic. CAPITOLINIS GAVDIVM is an acclamation, and *gaudium* is nowhere else so used in Roman epigraphy.[88] It is preceded by a depiction of a palm branch (Fig. 11.34). Is CAPITOLINIS a dative or an ablative? If the former, the Latin would mean "joy to (or "rejoicing for") the Capitolini," and the palm

86 The name does not occur elsewhere in Sicilian epigraphy.

87 One allegedly from Tindari on the north coast is attested (*CIL* x.8045.16: PHILIPPIANO-RVM) but was perhaps mistakenly read; in Palermo Museum since 1830, but now lost.

88 It occurs eight times in the Manfred Clauss database (http://www.manfredclauss.de), none as an *acclamatio*. *Gaudium reipublicae* or *gaudium Romanorum* is the wording used to celebrate military victories in Germany on the coinage of Constantine and his sons between 310/313 and 332/333, but that is descriptive, not acclamatory.

FIGURE 11.34
Gerace, mosaic in the *frigidarium* of the baths, inscribed frieze on north side, detail, palm branch (scale 5 cms)
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

branch is simply a symbol of good fortune and good luck. That is the straightforward reading, although the usual way of expressing such sentiments to a family is with the word VITA, "long life to."[89] So who were the Capitolini? They might have been a family into whom a relative of Philippianus (a daughter?) had married, and Asclepiades in that case might have been a Capitolinus and so Philippianus' new son-in-law. An alternative argument is that the Capitolini were the new proprietors who took over the estate after a change of ownership: they commissioned the mosaic, but retained the old estate name (*praedia Philippianorum*).[90] In this case Asclepiades will have been the new owner. However, the interest in monograms seems to have been such a personal one of Philippianus (in view of their extreme rarity at this period in the

89 For a Sicilian example (also accompanied by apotropaic palm branches), cf. *AE* 1906, 75 = *ILS* 8982 (Marsala): *Pompeianis vita … Amazoniis vita*.

90 Estate names frequently appear in the plural, both in Africa (e.g. *praedia Laberiorum* [*CIL* VIII.24019] and *Pullaenorum* [*ILS* 6024]) and in Italy (e.g. *praedia Maecianorum* [*CIL* VI.745], *Romanianorum*, *Lucilianorum* [*ILS* 1615–1616]).

provinces) that to hypothesize their continued use by a completely different family is, in my view, unconvincing.

There is, however, a *lectio difficilior*. If CAPITOLINIS is in the ablative case, the Latin can be translated as "joy" or "rejoicing" at the "Capitolines." In that case, CAPITOLINIS would mean "arising from" the Capitolines, and the reference would very probably be to the *certamina Capitolina*, the Greek-style games instituted in Rome by the Emperor Domitian in 86 CE.[91] We know that these were still presented in the late fourth century, and we know also that they had an equestrian component.[92] It has further been proposed that it was the victorious horse-owner who won the fame and glory there, not the charioteer as in Roman-style games (*ludi*).[93] The palm branch on the mosaic would be a symbol of victory, and may be evidence that Philippianus had actually won at least one race in these contests in Rome, presumably with horses bred and trained at Gerace; so the "rejoicing" (*gaudium*) would be that of Philippianus himself and his associates. Is it just coincidental that one roof-tile stamp made at Gerace shows a victorious racehorse with palm branch and crown, and a second the victory crown alone (Figs. 11.35–36)? The new tile-stamps may have been specially commissioned after one such victory (or more) in Rome.[94]

There are various difficulties with this interpretation. *Gaudium* with an ablative is not normal usage—addition of an *ex* or an *in* would have removed ambiguity—although everyone at Gerace would surely have known instantly what was being referenced. *Certamina Capitolina* were more commonly called *Capitolia*,[95] and if the N had been omitted and the reading was CAPITOLIIS, ambiguity would have been further removed. A Latin speaker like Philippianus, however, might still have called them *certamina Capitolina* or (*agones*) *Capitolini*, even if such Latin references happen to be attested only in sources of early and mid imperial date.[96] In addition, as we have seen, monograms usually enshrine personal names, not those of institutions or abstract sentiments,

91 Caldelli (1993).

92 Equestrian competition: Suet. *Dom.* 4.4. Late fourth-century performances: Caldelli (1993) 113 (n. 262), 118–120, 160 (no. 72) and Tav. XXVI–XXVII (gold glasses, manufactured in Rome between 350 and 400 CE).

93 Thuillier (2012) 187–188.

94 Types 4 and 5: Wilson (2014) 476–477.

95 E.g. in the many imitations of this festival that occurred in the Greek East: Roueché (1993) 181.

96 The latest attested use of the Latin form (*agones Capitolini*) is Censorinus (*Die Natali* 18.15), written in 238 CE. Caldelli (1993) 113 n. 262, is the sole late Roman Latin reference (on a gold glass), and that happens to be *Capitolia*.

FIGURE 11.35 Gerace, stamp on a roof tile (Type 4), horse facing left, palm branch and victory crown before it, PHILIPPIANI around (scale 5 cms)
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

FIGURE 11.36
Gerace, stamp on a roof tile (Type 5), horse facing left, victory crown above, legend in two parts [Phil]IP and PIANI (scale in cms)
PHOTO: R.J.A. WILSON

but exceptions do occur. We have seen already on contorniates at Rome the widespread use of a monogram of *p*(*alma*) *et l*(*aurus*) in the context of circus games, and Greek monograms at Ephesus and Aphrodisias wish good luck for the Green faction in circus races there.[97] It seems at least a possibility that Philippianus, with his passion for monogrammatic composition, and proud of a victory in these contests, could not have resisted making a new monogram out of "Capitolini" to put on his mosaic in his new baths, even if it referred to an institution rather than a personal name.

Much of this discussion is inevitably hypothetical and therefore incapable, of course, of strict proof. One further piece of archaeological evidence, however, does point towards Philippianus' involvement in the horse industry. Study of the animal bones from six seasons of work at Gerace has underlined the unusually high number of equids there, and there is plentiful evidence, too, of the presence of foals, even of an equine milk tooth. So it looks as though there was a stud at Gerace: the finding of stables in future excavation would clinch the matter. Although the evidence largely comes from back-fill deposits of the baths, and so belongs to the fifth century rather than to the late fourth, it is possible that the industry had been going on at Gerace for several generations. In that case the name "Philippianus" may well have been given him at birth by a horse-mad father who perhaps started the business in the first half of the fourth century.[98] We know from literary evidence that Sicily was a major supplier of horses for the circuses of the late Empire,[99] and depictions of horses with Sicilian names are attested in Rome or nearby.[100] The breeding and raising of racehorses in antiquity was an expensive gamble, as it still is today, and if Philippianus did send a Gerace-bred and trained horse or horses to Rome and won one or more victories there, his joy would have been unconfined. The mosaic inscription may, if this second interpretation is correct, support the idea that Philippianus' business dealings did indeed extend to Rome. And if

97 Garipzanov (2018) 126 and fig. 4.11.

98 We do not know his name: roof-tiles in the previous generation's building (the estate *horreum*) are unstamped.

99 For the importance of Sicilian horses (and charioteers) in late antiquity, Veg. *Ars Mulomedicinae* 3.6.2–4; *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* 65; Symmachus, *Ep.* 6.33 and 42; Wilson (2014) 485–486. For horse-raising in ancient Sicily, Cassia (2016), especially 60–73.

100 "The Syracusan": Darder Lissón (1996) 244 and 294 no. 2 (Ostia), and 315 no. 128 (a contorniate, perhaps early fifth century); also on a mosaic of ca. 300 CE at Ostia: Dunbabin (2016) 162, fig. 6.19. "The Palermitan": Darder Lissón (1996) 202 (a contorniate) and 320 no. 177 (*CIL* VI.37834, line 26).

they did, he might also have had a chance of seeing monograms in use in the *caput mundi*, and so got the idea from there of introducing them to his Sicilian estate.[101]

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101 I embarked on the writing of this piece in memory of Garrett Fagan with a heavy heart and with enormous sadness. Garrett was the earliest of my pupils from my TCD days to embark on an academic career, one that was alas to be cruelly cut short. He has left us as his principal *monumentum* a body of work of great distinction and perspicacity, some of which will be consulted for generations to come; but his close friends are still mourning the disappearance of his distinctive personality and the warmth of his friendship that have been prematurely snatched away from us, a loss we so keenly feel. I still have vivid memories of an excavation of mine in Sicily in which Garrett participated as an undergraduate in 1982, where his nascent leadership abilities, his strong work ethic, his sharp intelligence, his boundless energy, and his unquenchable sense of humor were already on display, qualities that were never to desert him throughout his life. He was a shining role model to us all. The excavations at Gerace were funded by the Arts and Social Sciences Funding Council of Canada, to which body I am profoundly grateful. Michael MacKinnon (Winnipeg) and Daniella Tsimbaliouk (Madeira Park, BC) expertly studied the animal bones and highlighted the equine component. Without the help of Matthew McCarty (Vancouver), I would not have known of the Ostia Mithraic material. Jeffrey Spier (Malibu) has kindly read a draft of this essay; I am most grateful to him for his comments.

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Index

Administrative routine 69, 77–78, 80, 84, 96n33
adventus 105n14, 110–111, 116–117
Alma-Tadema, Lawrence 146
Ambiorix 42
Amphitheaters 161–163, 167, 169n29, 170, 172, *see also* Arena
Colosseum (Flavian Amphitheater) 26n6, 171, 173n40, 174
Antoninus Pius (Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius) 9, 68–70, 76, 78
Antonius, M. (Antony) 54–55, 60–63, 161, 166
Apuleius
imagery in 166–178
Metamorphoses—Golden Ass 23, 27, 160–161, 164
narratological techniques in 164–165, 168, 170–178
sexual imagery in 165–168, 173
Arena 4–5, 25–27, 29, 160–165, 167, 170–178, *see also* Amphitheater
Ariovistus 35–36, 41–42
Aristocracy, *see* Elite
Army, *see* Military
Assembly (*contio*) 54–57, 61
Augustus 42n27, 44, 51, 55–56, 101, 102n5, 103, 111, 167–168, *see also* Octavian
Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, Q., *see* Symmachi
Auxilia 69–75, 79–81, 129, *see also civitas*

Bandit 27–28, 93, 161, 165–166, 168–170, 173–176, *see also latro*, Rebel
Barabbas 91n23, 93n26, 96
Baths 4, 21, 23–25, 125–148
Archaeological Investigation 132–137, 141, 145–146
Bathing Culture
Greek 132–133
Late Antique 144–145
Roman 4, 24–25, 132–148
Christian Thought On 144–145
Construction/Vaulting Techniques 129, 135–137
Development of Roman 128, 132–135
Fregellae Republican Baths 133–134
Gender 138–140
Greece 130, 132–133
Peloponnese 130, 136
Crete 130, 145
Healing 142–143
Heating Systems 130, 132–135
Hygiene 141–142
Identity 132, 147–148
Jewish Thought on 144–145
Military 129
Nudity 24, 138–139
Ostia, Forum Baths 137, 146
Palestine 130, 143–144
Pompeii 127–128, 140–141
Forum Baths 140–141, 146
Stabian Baths 128, 135
Suburban Baths 139–140
Private 25, 129, 183, 185–186, 215, 218, 222
Provincial 129–131, 143–144, 183, 185–186
Reception of 145–146
Religion 141–143
Reenactment/Reconstruction 21, 137
Rome
Baths of Agrippa 25, 129, 135, 145
Baths of Caracalla 25, 129, 136
Baths of Diocletian 25, 129–130
Sex 139–141, fig. 9.3
Social function of 3–4
Subversive Spaces 139–141
Urbanism 127–128, 147
Water Use 131n30, 136–137, 141–142
Belgae 34, 37
Belisarius 101, 104, 107–109, 113
Bellum Gallicum 8, 35–42, *see also* Julius Caesar, author
Belvedere College 13–15
Ben-Hur
Film
(1925) 100n2, 103n8
(1959) 100–103, 118
Novel 100
Booty 101, 105n14, 109–110, 113–114, 116–117, *see also* Prisoners
Britannia, *see* Provinces

Caesar, *see* Julius Caesar, C.
Caligula, *see* Gaius
Capitol (*capitolium*) 101–102, 107, 118, *see also* Iuppiter
Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus) 77, 197, fig. 11.15
Carthage 104
Castra Vetera 56–58, 60
Catacombs, *see* Monograms, Rome
Chassériau, Théodore 146
Children 9, 28, 57, 68–72, 76, 78–79, 81, 104, 117, 166
Christianity 93, 104, 107, 111–114, 118, 194, 200–201, 203, fig. 11.11, *see also* Jesus, Messiah
  Christian Church (institution) 104, 106, 112, 114, 118
    Building 104–106, 112, 114, 117, 211n72 and 76, 212, figs. 11.28, 31
  Christianization 105–106, 113, 115, 117
  Christians 86n14, 91n18, 93, 112–116, 144–145, 171
Circus/hippodrome 101, 105, 108–110, 112–118, 169n29, 203–204, 222
Citizenship, *see civitas*
Civil War 42n27, 44–45, 48–50, 52, 61, 63, 107, 163n9, 164
civitas Romana
  for Auxilia 68–70, 79
  for Children of Veterans 68–70, 76, 79, 81, *see also* Veterans
Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus) 49, 68, 167
clementia 96
Cognitive Psychology 5, 88–89
Constantine (Flavius Valerius Constantinus) 104, 111n29, 118, 201
Constantinople 101, 105, 107, 110–111, 112n33, 113n37, 117, 210n58, 211nn 72 and 76
Consul/Consulate 109–110
Corinth 164, 172–173
Cornelius Cinna, L. 48–49
Cornelius Scipio Africanus, P. (The Elder) 44, 60n56, 61–62
Cornelius Sulla Felix, L. 48–49, 63n63
Crucifixion 91, 93–95, 96n35
Cueva de Soria villa, *see* Monogram

damnatio ad bestias 114n40, 170–171, 174–175
Decimation 49, 54, 59–60, 62
Diplomas, Military 68–81
  Careless Engraving 69, 71, 79–80
  Special Formula 70–78, 80
Discharge (*missio*) 48, 51, 54, 56, 59–60, 79, 167–168
Discipline 13–14, 44–47, 50, 52, 53n36, 58, 62, 64
Diviciacus 36, 38–39
Domitian (Titus Flavius Domitianus) 174, 220
Double Documents 80, 81
Dublin 15
Dumnorix 38–40
Dionysius Filocalus, Furius 206, fig. 11.22

Education, Modern 13–20
Elite
  Roman 4, 108, 161–162, 164, 204, 206–207, 214–215
  Provincial 96, 98, 165–166, 168–169, 172–174, 176–178
Emperor 48–49, 77, 95–96, 98, 101, 105–106, 111–116, 174, 197, 208–209, fig. 11.15
Epigraphy 4, 6–7, 70–71, 94–95, 97, 125–126
Esquiline Treasure 206, fig. 11.23
Ethnography 34–36

Fall of the Roman Empire (film) 102n5, 118
Flavius Fimbria, C. 51–52

Gaius (Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus; Caligula) 49, 57
Gallic War 35–38, 40–42, 50
Games (*ludi*) 112, 169n29, 220–222
Gaul, *see* Provinces
Gerace (Sicily), rural estate at 183–193, 197, 203, 207–208, 215–222, figs. 11.1–10, 33–36
Germania, *see* Provinces
Germanicus (Germanicus Julius Caesar) 56–58, 60–63
Gladiatorial Imagery 26
  in Apuleius 27, 164–169, 172, 174–177
  in Cicero 161–162, 166
  in Ovid 163
  in Vergil 163

Gladiators 4, 25–26, 114n40, 116, 160–163, 166–168, 169n29, 172, 174, 176
Gorippus 104–105
Governor, Provincial, *see* Provinces
Gymnasium 132–133, 139

Hippodrome, *see* Circus
Hirtius, Aulus 33, 34n3
History
- Ancient 3–6, 16, 19–20, 46–47, 83, 101
- Cultural 88, 96n33
- Institutional 3–4, 97
- Legal 83–84, 94–97
- Method, Comparative 4–5, 21–22, 46–47, 49–50
- Military 15–16, 46–47, 49–50
- Social 3–4, 46–50, 83, 92, 94, 125

Horse 108, 183, 185, 203–204, 220, 222, figs. 11.35–36
Humility 112–113, 115, 118

Illyricum 37–38
Indiscipline 44–64, *see also* Mutiny

Jerusalem 113–114
Jesus, Trial of 83–98, *see also* Messiah
John, Gospel of 83, 85n8, 86–87, 95
John Troglita 104–105, 117
Judaea (Iudaea), *see* Provinces
Julius Caesar, C.
- Author 18, 33–42, *see also Bellum Gallicum*
- Campaigns of 35–38, 40–42, 53
- Commander 38, 40–42, 44, 50, 53–54, 58–61, 63

Junius Brutus, M. 63n63
Jupiter (Iuppiter) 101–102, 103n7, 104, 111n29, 113, 118
Jurisdiction 83–88, 95–96
Justinian (Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus) 101, 104, 105n12, 108, 111nn29 and 31, 114, 116, 211

latro (*lestes*) 93–94, 161, 165–166, *see also* Bandit, Rebel
Law
- Jewish 85–92, 97
- Roman 84, 88–89, 91–94, 96–98

Legion 15–16, 37, 51, 53–55, 58–61, 63
- *I* 55–58
- *IV* 54–55
- *V Alaudae* 55–58
- IX 44, 53–54, 59, 60n55
- XX 49, 55–58
- XXI *Rapax* 55–58
- *Martia* 54–55

Livy 163–164, 215
Lucretius 34, 172n36
Luke, Gospel of 83, 85n8, 90–91

Mark, Gospel of 83–85, 89–90, 93
Matthew, Gospel of 83–85, 89–90, 93, 95n30
Messiah (Christ) 90–94, 96n35, 97–98, 104, 194
Military, Roman 5, 15–16, 41–42, 44–64, 68–81, 95, 108, 111–112, 116, 129, *see also* Auxilia, Indiscipline, Legion, Officers, Punishment, Soldiers, Veterans
- Cohesion, Military 8, 52, 58–61, 63
- Military Unrest, *see* Indiscipline

Monograms 183–223
- Antonini (?) 185–186, fig. 11.8
- Asclepiades 186, 218–220, figs. 11.9, 33
- Capitolini 186, 218–220, 222, figs. 11.10, 33
- Christian 195 fig. 11.11, 200–201, 203, 211nn72 and 75, figs. 11. 18–20, 28, 31
- Defined 184
- Pagan 201, 203
- Sites
  - Grado 212, figs. 11.28 and 31
  - Ostia 201, 203n41, 222n100
  - Rome 185–186, 199–207, 212, 215–219, 223, figs. 11.9–11, 25–27, 31, 33
  - Sicily 184–193, 214–222
  - Spain (Cuevas de Soria, villa) 208, figs. 11.25–27
- Use of in/on
  - Coins 194–197, fig. 11.12–14
  - Contorniates 203–204, 215, 222, fig. 11.21
  - Inscriptions 200–201, 203, 206, fig. 11.18–19
  - Mosaic pavements 185–186, 203, 208, 212, 215–222, figs. 11.6, 11.9–11, 11.25–27, 11.31, 11.33–34

Rings/Ringstones 197–199, 207, 209, 214, figs. 11.16–17, 24
Mosaics, *see* Monograms
munera gladiatoria 164, 167–169, 172–173, 175–178
Mutiny 44–64
Defined 45, 48–52
Modern 46–47, 49, 61–62
Responses to 58–63
Sites
Brundisium 8, 54–55, 60–61
Defined 45, 48
Lower Rhine 8, 44, 49, 55–58, 60, *see also* Provinces
Modern 61–62
Pannonia 44, 49, 55
Placentia 53–54, 58–60
Responses to 58–63
Sucro 44, 61

Nicomachus Flavianus, Virius (elder) 214–215
Nicomachus Flavianus, Virius (son) 215
Non-Elite 4, 24–25, 51, 165–166, 170–171, 173, 177
Novel, Greek 165

Oath (*sacramentum*) 55–58, 60, 62–63, 175–176
Octavian (C. Julius Caesar Octavianus; Augustus) 52, 54–55, 61–63
Officers
Centurion 40n20, 42, 54–57, 74–77
Commander 38, 40–42, 44–45, 48–49, 52–53, 55, 58–64, 101, 104, 106–109, 112, 116
Decurion 74–77
Legate 37, 40, 42, 48, 54, 56–57
Training 52–53, 60, 62, 64, 95
Tribune 40n20, 54–55
Oppidum Ubiorum 56–57
Ostia 201, *see also* Bath, Monogram
Outsider 88–90, 92–94, 97

Paganism 105, 113–114, 116
Palace 108, 113–114, 129
Pannonia, *see* Provinces
Pantomime, Roman 113, 164, 172
Passion 85n9, 86n14, 89, 92n25
Pharisees 86–88
Philippianus 183–184, 214–223
Pilate, Pontius 85–88, 90–98
Plutarch 85–86
Pompeius Magnus, Cn. (Pompey) 37, 41, 60n56, 63n63
Prisoners 38, 96nn32–33, 101, 104, 108–110, 114, 116–117
Hostages 35, 38
Processions 93n27, 100–118, *see also* Spectacle, Triumph
Procopius 101, 107–110, 113–114
Prophet 92–94
Provinces, Roman 25, 71, 75–77, 79, 84–85, 92–93, 129, 131, 136, 143, 144n88, 169n29, 207–208, 219n90, *see also* Elite
Britannia 35, 38, 49, 145
Gaul 34–42, 49, 53–57
Germania 34–39, 55–58, 60, 72, 75, *see also* Rhine
Governor, Provincial 83–85, 87–88, 91, 93–98
Greece 130, 132–133, 165, *see also* Baths
Judaea 84, 103n9
Pannonia 69–70, 72–75, 78, 102
Sicily 183–193, 197, 203, 207–208, 215–222
Spain 208
Pseudoarchaeology 5, 23
Punishment 35, 115
Civil
Death Penalty
Jewish Court 84–89, 97
Roman Court 88, 90–91, 94–98
Public Executions 13, 26–27, 91, 93, 160, 167, 170–173, *see also* Crucifixion, *damnatio ad bestias*
Staged As "Fatal Charades" 27, 170–173
Military 45, 49, 52, 54–55, 57–63, *see also* Decimation

Ravenna 211n75, 212
Rebel/Rebellion 90, 91n22, 97n37
Provincial 34n3, 91–94, 96–98
Roman 48–49, 110, 112, 114–115
Rhine 35, 38, 44, 51, 58, 60, *see also* Germania
Robber, *see* Bandit

Rome (city) 18, 24–25, 28, 55, 93n27, 105, 107, 113, 118, 129–130, 135, 138, 199–207, 212, 220–223, *see also* Baths, Games, Monograms
  catacombs 199–200, 206, 215
  Esquiline Treasure 206, fig. 11.23
Roscius Amerinus, S. 27, 162

Sacrifice 101–102, 104, 107, 111, 113n36, 116, 118, 163
Sanhedrin 83–89, 91n18, 96–98
Senate 33, 41, 95, 98, 105, 107, 170
Septimius Severus (L. Septimius Severus) 77
Slaves 24–26, 91, 137, 163, 166, 173–174
Social Psychology 4–5, 47–48, 88–89, 96–97, 160
Social Status 4, 24–29, 51, 59, 88, 215, *see also* Elite, Non-Elite
Soldiers 44, 47–53, 55–58, 104, 107–109, 116–117, 129, 168
Spectacle, Roman Public 5, 25–26, 101, 110, 113–115, 160, 163–164, 168–178
Symmachi 183n4, 214–215, fig. 11.32

Tacitus 47, 57, 103n9
Teaching 6–7, 13–15, 21–23
Theater 94, 100n2, 163n11, 165, 172
The Golden Ass, *see* Apuleius *The Metamorphosis*
Tiberius (Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus) 49, 51, 55, 94–96, 102, 171
Tile-stamps 183–185, 214, 210, 218, 220, figs. 11.1, 4, 7–8, 35–36
Titus (Titus Flavius Vespasianus) 108, 174
Titurius Sabinus 36, 38, 40–42
Trial Procedures 95
  Jewish 83–90, 97
  Roman 89–91, 94–97, *see also* Jesus
    cognitio extra ordinem 94–96
Triumph 93n27, 101, 104–117
Tullius Cicero, M. 33, 37, 39, 41, 166
Tullius Cicero, Q. 40–41

Valerius Flaccus, L. 52
Vandals 101, 107, 109, 113, 117
Venationes 26, 163, 171n35, 172–175
Vercingetorix 35, 41–42
Veterans 48–49, 52, 56n47, 57, 59, 68–70, 72, 75, 79
  Privileges 72, 79
Victory 104–112, 116, 162
Violence 4–5, 23–29, 45, 48, 57, 60–62, 84n2, 91n23, 92, 94, 95n29, 97n35, 113n37, 114–115, 141
virtus 25, 42, 59

Warfare 5, 35–38, 40–42, 52, 58, 112
Wars, *see* Civil War, Gallic War
Wife 35n8, 57, 75n12, 206–207
Woman/Women 35n8, 57, 104, 117, 138–139, 165–166, 170–171, 173, 206–207, fig. 11.23